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STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

JUNE 1925

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THE BUDGET

BY GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

IN criticising Mr. Blythe's or any other budget, the first thing to be borne in mind is that suggestions relating to decreased expenditure are, strictly speaking, irrelevant. In constructing his budget, it is the duty of the finance minister to provide a sum sufficient to defray expenditure, the estimated amount of which has already been approved. All suggestions for cheapening the cost of government by reducing the number or the cost of the various public services are too late when the budget is introduced. In this respect the finance minister goes about his business in a manner diametrically opposed to that of the private individual. The latter estimates his expenditure—the sort of house he will live in, the number of servants he will keep, and soforth—with a view to making it fit in with his annual income, but the former must provide an income sufficient to meet the expenditure which is previously arranged in the preparation of the estimates. The reason I refer to this point is to clear the discussion of the budget of the numerous well-meant but irrelevant suggestions for decreasing the cost of government which were offered to Mr. Blythe in the Dáil and in the press.

The most important and most gratifying feature of the budget is that it balances. The experience of many continental countries during and after the war has tragically pointed the lesson, ever insisted on by professional economists, that the unbalanced budget is the first step in a rake's progress. There can be no doubt whatever that, of the two evils of oppressive taxation and of an unbalanced budget, the latter is immeasurably the greater. The first and greatest maxim of public finance,

that the budget must be made to balance, has been scrupulously observed by Mr. Blythe. If his budget did not contain a single other good feature, on this one point alone he is entitled to the sincere gratitude and applause of the public.

To say that the budget is balanced is not necessarily to say that the whole expenditure of the coming year is to be met out of revenue. The most conservative of accountants will distinguish between recurrent and non-recurrent expenditure, and will allow the latter, which is really in the nature of capital outlay, to be met out of sources other than current income. When expenditure of this non-recurrent or capital nature is devoted to the development of the latent resources of the country, as, for example, the cost of drainage or of afforestation, the propriety of meeting it out of borrowed money is indisputable; but even when the purposes for which it is applied are not strictly reproductive, it may in many cases be properly provided for by borrowed funds. For example, the costs of a war on the successful issue of which a country's future security and prosperity depend may quite legitimately be raised by increasing the public debt, and this principle is as valid in the case of a civil as in that of an international conflict. The budget, in providing that six million pounds (about one-fifth of the total estimated expenditure) may be met by borrowing, adheres strictly to the narrowest and most conservative interpretation of this principle, and even the greatest financial purist will scarcely dispute that such items as property losses compensation and the cost of temporarily maintaining the army in excess of its ordinary peace strength are properly charged to the capital account of the State.

In one respect, indeed, it would almost appear at first sight as if the budget were too conservative. It might well be argued that the cost of the police and civil service pensions incurred under the Treaty might be legitimately

met out of capital funds. Mr. Blythe apparently felt the force of this contention, which he went out of his way to combat, by arguing that the expenditure could not properly be regarded as non-recurrent owing to the number of years which it might be expected to continue, and that even when it came to an end, new expenditure of a similar kind, in respect of pensions for the Civic Guard, would arise in its place. His attitude is perfectly correct, and by insisting that the cost of these pensions must be met out of revenue he is applying a sound principle of finance.

It is often a question of some difficulty whether a surplus should be used for the reduction of debt or for the relief of the taxpayer. In normal circumstances, the former is usually the wisest, as it is certainly the orthodox, course; but, in the case of a country that is admittedly overtaxed, whose previous budgets have been framed on a war-basis, and whose public debt is relatively small, the claim of the taxpayer to some alleviation of his burden, even at the expense of debt-redemption, is undeniable. It would be difficult to conceive of a situation which would justify the satisfaction of the taxpayer's demands in preference to those of the public debt more fully than that which confronted Mr. Blythe, who has taken the only course open to him in equity by applying the greater part of the surplus to the relief of the burden of taxation. Here again he has displayed a commendable conservatism, in providing a generous margin by way of insurance against undue optimism before calculating the amount by which he proposes to relieve the taxpayer.

When it has been decided that a reduction in taxation is to be made, the minister's difficulties really begin. He is besieged by claims for relief on all sides, and the conflicting interests of rich and poor, of town and country, of producer and consumer become increasingly clamorous. Burke said that "to tax and to please, no more than to love and to be wise, is not given to man," and the impossibility of pleasing everybody is just as great when one is

remitting as when one is imposing taxes. Mr. Blythe has succeeded in striking a nice balance between the payers of direct and of indirect taxes; and, whatever criticism may be directed against particular items in his readjustment, it will not be disputed that his scheme of relief, taken as a whole, is essentially just and equitable. He is entitled to make the same boast that Mr. Churchill made, that he had balanced his budget, "not merely in the public ledger, but in the scales of social justice between different classes of the community."

The budget provides for a substantial reduction of one shilling in the pound in the income tax, which is the *pièce de resistance* of direct taxation in Ireland. It cannot be denied that, while the amount of this reduction is quite reasonable when viewed with regard to the general pressure of taxation and to the magnitude of expenditure to be met, it proved somewhat of a disappointment to the public, who had had their expectations raised by a whirlwind campaign in favour of the total abolition of the tax. Into the *pros* and *cons* of the Cork suggestion I do not propose to enter, beyond saying that such a far-reaching suggestion, which would revolutionise the whole fiscal system of the country and would affect the position, either beneficially or adversely, of every taxpayer, is scarcely a fit subject for whirlwind campaigns, monster meetings, and double-column newspaper captions. That the income tax, as at present assessed and collected, is by no means an ideal tax for an agricultural community is admitted by all. Mr. Blythe said that the farmers "notoriously do not pay income tax," and the justice of the farmer's claim for differential treatment is admitted by the doubling of the agricultural grant, which in effect is equivalent to reducing the rate paid by them by a further eightpence in the pound. This would suggest that some alternative system of taxation for Ireland is desirable, and it is to be hoped that the government will take steps towards setting up an inquiry to examine the

whole matter fully and dispassionately and to make proposals for reform which will aim at indicating what is practicable rather than at sighing or shouting for what is merely desirable. Such an inquiry would bring to light the fact that most continental countries rely on some kind of tax on land values or on property when dealing with their agricultural taxpayers, and confine the income tax to salaries and income from securities and investments. Whether it is ultimately decided to resort to taxes framed on the continental model or to retain the income tax, the question of revaluing the land of the country will have to be faced, as the present valuation is generally admitted to be unsatisfactory. The method of assessing the income tax, the three years average, the failure to distinguish between spent and saved incomes, and so-forth, are also matters calling for investigation; but, as Mr. Blythe pointed out, the whole question of income tax reform is complicated by the double taxation tangle, and is not so simple a matter for the revenue commissioners as it appears to be for the newspapers. It is satisfactory to learn that the double taxation difficulty is being faced with a view to finding some simple method of adjustment.

Meanwhile the taxpayer has every reason to be satisfied with the substantial relief of one shilling in the pound, which equalizes the rates in Great Britain and Ireland. The English taxpayer, however, has been accorded a fresh position of advantage in the new British budget by the extended relief granted to earned incomes. Happily this new comparative disadvantage of the Irish taxpayer will not cause any regret to our whirlwind income tax reformers, whose sense of justice is shocked apparently only by the tax charged on industrial and commercial profits, which come under the category of unearned income, for which the rate is now the same in Great Britain and Ireland.

The one really serious blot on the budget is the retention of the corporation profits tax, which acts as a real

clog on industrial enterprise and puts the Irish manufacturer at a quite definite disadvantage. Mr. Blythe himself did not seem perfectly satisfied with his treatment of this question, on which his speech assumed quite an apologetic tone. He did not attempt to defend the tax in principle, but accounted for its retention by some explanation of the way in which it could be used to prevent evasion of death duties, which, it must be confessed, was not very clear, not to say convincing, to at least one of his auditors. His argument, at all events, seems to justify the retention of the tax only on the profits of corporations having their domicile outside the Free State, and does not appear to be relevant to the case of Irish companies.

The super-tax should have been reduced with a view to making residence in the Free State attractive to persons of large incomes. The loss to the revenue caused by such a reduction would have been small, and would have been more than made up by the increased income and indirect taxes that would result if the object aimed at were attained. This reduction, which was highly advisable so long as the British and Irish super-tax rates were identical, became imperatively urgent on the publication of the British budget, by which wealthy people were definitely attracted to reside in England in preference to Ireland. If the Irish super-tax rate is not speedily reduced, many of the financially most desirable inhabitants of the Free State will undoubtedly go to live in England or in Northern Ireland.

The remissions of indirect taxation are very substantial. The duties on tea, coffee, and cocoa are abolished, and the duty on sugar is reduced to one penny per pound. The tea duty was referred to in the report of the Financial Relations Commission as an example of a tax that weighed very heavily on a poor community, and its abolition is to be welcomed. Similarly the duty on sugar raised the cost of one of the essentials of a working class household,

and its reduction will cause no regrets. The loss suffered by the revenue by these remissions is approximately equal to that caused by the reduction of the income tax rate, so that the working class taxpayer has no grievance.

The new import duties, which are imposed partly with a view to providing a compensatory source of revenue, consist of a duty of fifteen per cent. on wearing apparel and blankets and of one of thirty-three-and-a-third per cent. on wooden furniture. The duties on soap and on bottles imposed by the previous budget are also slightly extended in scope. It is clear that these new duties, inasmuch as they are protective in character, involve far-reaching questions of policy which did not arise in connection with the tea and sugar duties. As a member of the Fiscal Inquiry Committee who is prepared to stand over every line of its report, I naturally disapprove of these duties in so far as they are protective; but I am prepared to admit that their imposition, in the circumstances, was not unjustifiable. There is no doubt that there is in the country a strong movement in favour of a protective policy, the clamours of which any government would find it difficult to ignore. Mr. Blythe made it perfectly plain that the government is keenly alive to the dangers which the agriculture of the country would suffer under a protectionist *régime*, and that these duties are not to be taken as indicating the adoption of a protectionist policy. On the contrary, they are strictly experimental, and as such will be welcomed by every free trader. If the experiment fails, the danger of further protection is avoided; while, if it succeeds, no free trader —certainly no member of the much-abused "fiscal five" —will grudge to acknowledge that his gloomy prognostications were unwarranted. Mr. Blythe's "orthodoxy" on this vexed question is most welcome; he frankly faces the fact that protection is a costly process, but that the result may be worth the cost. So long as this maxim is borne in mind, the fiscal policy of the

country will not become dangerous; the mischief begins when people deceive themselves into the belief that protection is a method of obtaining something for nothing. On this question the positions of the British and the Irish governments present a curious contrast: the former, while admittedly wedded to protectionist views, is bound by its election pledges to adhere to a policy of free trade; whereas the latter, while declaring itself free trade in principle, is driven by political pressure into conducting a mild flirtation with protection.

Apart from their protective character, which I do not intend to discuss further, the new duties are open to certain objections, regarded from the standpoint of the taxpayer and of the revenue. In the first place, although they are estimated to bring in a good deal less than the tea and sugar duties, they will probably cause the taxpayer more actual annoyance. People had become so accustomed to paying a certain price for tea and sugar that they scarcely ever recollected that a substantial part of what they paid was a tax, whereas the tax element in the new price of clothes will be unpleasantly apparent even to the most thoughtless purchaser. During the last twelve months one heard widespread complaints about the additional few shillings paid for a pair of boots, while one never heard a word of dissatisfaction against the much higher duties on whiskey and tobacco. It is always well to remember that, from the psychological point of view, an old duty is a good one and a new duty a bad one. The mind, as well as the purse of the taxpayer, is affected by the burden of taxation. It is possible, though not at all probable, that Mr. Blythe is an adherent of the new school of financiers who teach that the true goal of taxation is that the contributor should fully realize what he is paying at the time he is paying it, as this will make him into a good citizen, who will take an interest in his country's affairs.[1] Certainly, if Mr. Blythe does belong to this school, he has done his best in this part of his

budget to translate its precepts into practice. From the psychological standpoint there is also a good deal in the contention, so wittily expressed by Major Cooper in a passage reminiscent of Sydney Smith's famous sally, that the taxpayer is liable to be annoyed by a multiplicity of small irritating levies. Of course, here again the objection is completely answered if it is agreed that the taxpayer will be made into a good citizen and an intelligent voter by being subjected to the maximum of irritation.

There is a further disadvantage which always attends the replacing of an old by a new duty, namely, that the burden of the new imposition will be more speedily and certainly passed on to the taxpayer than the benefit of the remission. The shopkeepers are more ready to raise than to lower their retail prices in response to any fiscal change, and the consumer may thus be condemned to pay artificially high prices for two sets of commodities at the same time.

It is not only from the standpoint of the taxpayer that these new duties are objectionable; they are open also to certain objections from the standpoint of the revenue authorities. One of the most important features of a successful revenue duty is that its yield should be capable of being approximately estimated in advance, and the suitability of any commodity as the object of such a duty varies inversely with the elasticity of the demand for it. Tea and sugar are essential articles for every working-class family, and the volume of their consumption in any year can be pretty accurately forecasted. Small fluctuations of price do not cause any substantial variation in the demand for these articles. With furniture and clothes the case is quite different; only a small part of the furniture and of the clothes purchased can be strictly regarded as necessaries, and the demand for these commodities is therefore very elastic. Not only is it possible for the consumer to diminish the quantity of

[1] See Stamp: *Current Problems in Finance and Government*, p. 223.

his purchases; he can also decide to content himself with goods of inferior quality, and in the case of an *ad valorem* tax such a decision, if sufficiently widespread, may produce unexpected, and possibly disconcerting, results for the revenue.

Again, an import duty of a protective character suffers from the obvious defect that, in proportion as it is successful in stimulating the development of new industries, its revenue-producing value diminishes. It is to be assumed that these new duties will not altogether fail to encourage a certain extension of the furniture and clothing manufacture in Ireland, and it must therefore be concluded that they will bring in a continuously decreasing annual revenue. This may necessitate the imposition of further new taxes in future years, and may possibly drive the government, in spite of itself, to depart from its good resolutions concerning the limitation of protection to the present tariff. No axiom of taxation is more indisputable than that which lays down that, from the point of view of the revenue, a protective duty is no substitute for a revenue duty. This axiom does not appear to have been given due attention in the budget. Another objection that must not be overlooked is that protective duties tend to create vested interests, which makes their removal very difficult, if not impossible. The old revenue duties on tea and sugar could be abolished or reduced without evoking any protests, whereas any attempt to meddle with the new protective duties would arouse a storm of opposition from persons who had flourished behind their shelter. The substitution of the one class of duties for the other thus ties the hands of the government if it wishes to alter its policy in future years.

Indeed, there is a growing body of opinion that it is bad finance to attempt to give effect to the furtherance of an industrial or social policy by means of measures which are primarily devised to produce revenue. The two departments of government should be kept distinct.

Sir Josiah Stamp was driven into this view by his own experience. "During the war," he relates, "there was an epidemic of attempts on the part of the most worthy and essential traders to get regarded as the very pivot of the war, and to have special treatment by way of relief from a general tax which was admittedly burdensome. I became convinced that taxation must be a business apart, and cannot be mixed up with the weighing of claims to financial assistance, with the conditions of assistance and the necessity for expert consideration of the possibilities of each case. No taxation department ought to be mixed up with that side of national policy."[1] The objection felt by Sir Josiah Stamp to granting special exemption to certain favoured industries is equally valid against the encouragement of particular manufactures by imposing a duty on the wares of their competitors.

If this opinion be correct, one is driven to disapprove of Mr. Blythe's attempt to achieve financial and industrial results by a single proposal. To express such a condemnation is not, however, to suggest that industrial development is never to be stimulated by the grant of public financial assistance. On the contrary, many of the bitterest opponents of protective duties are by no means unfriendly to the encouragement of infant or undeveloped industries by means of bounties. "If the State," Sir Josiah Stamp proceeds, "wishes for national reasons to assist certain trades, I think in general the worst method is by discrimination or differentiation in taxation. Direct subvention is open, known, subject to constant check and control, and its cost is spread over the nation. Indirect benefit is hidden, unknown in amount, subject to little control as to efficiency, etc., and the cost of what is assumed to be a *national* benefit is paid by that section of the community which happens to use the products in question."[1] Mr. Blythe, indeed, has provided a very important example of the better and unobjectionable kind

[1] *Fundamental Principles of Taxation*, p. 196.

of encouragement in his scheme for the development of sugar-beet factories in Ireland. This part of his policy deserves universal approval.

The minor remissions of taxation in the budget do not call for much comment. The cheaper rates for postcards and for telephones are steps in the right direction, but it is to be regretted that there is no reference to the abolition of the unpopular parcels tax, which is objectionable for many reasons. It causes the maximum of irritation to the public with the minimum of benefit to the revenue, and offends also against the cardinal maxim of not confusing taxation and industrial policy, inasmuch as it is well known to have a thinly-veiled protective aim. The retention of the McKenna duties on motor cars, musical instruments, clocks and watches is justified from the point of view of revenue necessity, but it is hard to see why effect is not given to the recommendations of the Fiscal Inquiry Committee that the duty on the importation of the parts of these articles should be abolished. The vexed question of the annual taxation of motor vehicles has been reserved for further consideration.

Looking at the budget as a whole, it is impossible to view it with anything but approval considering the circumstances of the situation in which it was framed. To approve of it as satisfactory is not, however, to extol it as ideal. It is substantially modelled, with minor variations, on the pre-Treaty British system of taxation, which was widely regarded as unsuitable for Irish conditions. A certain lack of imagination is displayed in its reluctance to depart from precedent and in its failure to explore new sources of revenue. A tax on advertisements, for example, would seem to be quite feasible, and might be levied so as to give a preference to advertisements of home manufactured goods, thus affording a harmless measure of protection. Again, a tax on betting is now generally admitted to be practicable. This tax would produce a

[1] *Ibidem.*

large return, and might help, to some extent, to discourage one of our worst national vices. Numerous articles of luxury, for example cinematograph films, are not yet taxed to their full capacity ; and there is no reason why the annual motor taxes should not be extended to horse-drawn vehicles and bicycles. Then there is the question of the land taxes, to which reference has already been made.

The time has now come when the whole question of Irish taxation should be investigated afresh. The instantaneous popularity of the Cork campaign against income tax indicates a widespread feeling that the existing method of taxation is in some ways unsuitable, as indeed is generally admitted. The difficulties in the way of such an inquiry are great. The report of Professor Bastable's committee on Free State statistics shows the unsatisfactory condition of the present sources of information on which the conclusions of such an inquiry would be based, and some time must elapse before this defect can be adequately remedied and before the effects of the new taxes imposed this year can be estimated. The existence of these difficulties, however, should not prevent the undertaking of the inquiry, on which much valuable preliminary work could be done with the *data* at present available.

I wish to make it quite clear that these suggestions for future action do not imply any adverse criticism of the course which Mr. Blythe has followed in framing his present budget. One cannot too emphatically distinguish between what is ultimately desirable and what is immediately practicable. The former must be the criterion by which to judge the proposals of the economist and the latter that by which to judge those of the statesman. Nothing is easier than armchair invective against actual measures on the ground that they offend against the abstract axioms of pure economics or political science. The critic in the armchair must never forget to make allowance for the complexities of the situation in which

the statesman finds himself placed. Thus, it has already appeared in the course of this paper that the immediate reform of the income tax is impossible owing to the difficulties caused by double taxation, and that the removal of the corporation profits tax is in some way impeded by its relation to the death duties. The economist must remember that "the complexity of nature never quite corresponds with the artificial simplicity of his premises, and that in proportion as the correspondence is imperfect, the result of his reasoning must be applied with caution." Nor must he forget that "many of the most important considerations which should determine a political decision lie altogether outside the field with which an economist is at liberty to deal," and that "the politician has to decide what course should be pursued, not in the abstract world of science, but in the actual world of fact."[1] Bearing all these considerations in mind it is impossible to arrive at any other conclusion than that Mr. Blythe deserves to be heartily congratulated on his budget, which, except in minor particulars, could not have been improved upon in the situation with which he found himself compelled to deal. It possesses three cardinal merits: it balances, it reduces the cost of living, and it holds the scales of justice even between rich and poor. Better budgets may be looked forward to in future years, but not until the whole question of Irish taxation is made the subject of expert investigation, until the agriculture and industry of the country expand and prosper, and until the expenditure side of the public accounts is drastically overhauled.

GEORGE O'BRIEN.

[1] These quotations are from an excellent lecture by Lord Balfour entitled *Politics and Political Economy*, delivered in 1885, and printed in his *Essays and Addresses*.

THE POSSIBILITIES OF ELECTRICITY IN AGRICULTURE

BY CONNELL BOYLE, M.A., PH.D.

Professor of Agriculture, University College, Cork.

THE great need in agriculture at the present time is to increase the quantity and improve the quality of the output. In addition to increasing the productive capacity of the soil by cultivation, manurial treatment, and the breeding of more productive strains of crops and stock—all of which lines of attack offer the greatest scope for improvement—it is also necessary to lower the working expenses. This practically resolves itself into a lowering of the wages bill, since this item plays such a large part in the cost of production. Costings investigations carried out on a number of Irish farms showed that labour costs in 1914 amounted to 35 per cent. and in 1922 to 45 per cent. of the working expenses.[1]

Notwithstanding the high labour costs, the wages paid to agricultural labourers do not bear favourable comparison with those paid to workers in other industries, so that a reduction in the rate of wages paid to agricultural workers is no solution of the problem. The solution lies rather in increasing the efficiency of the worker, so that he can produce food at a lower cost, but without less remuneration to himself. This can be done by the greater and more intelligent use of agricultural machinery.

The majority of farmers have an instinctive feeling for animals, but few of them are mechanically inclined. Frequently farm machines are badly cared for, and are not used so as to obtain their maximum efficiency. Too often the use of oil and grease is forgotten, and the life of many an implement shortened for this reason. The care and management of agricultural machinery is a branch

[1] Adams, J. M., J.D.L.A., Vol. XXIV, No. 4.

of agricultural education which has received too little attention in the courses of instruction given in our agricultural schools and colleges. Until quite recently the subject was not deemed worthy of any special consideration, and was usually dealt with in agricultural text-books by devoting one or two chapters to farm implements. Owing to the shortage of manual labour on the farm during the war, all manner of devices to save man-power had to be adopted. From these efforts much was learned as to the possibility of the greater use of mechanical power on the farm.

In England the importance of encouraging the development of farm implements has been officially recognised, and a centre of research has been established at one of the Universities to deal with the many problems which arise, both from the manufacturer's and the farmer's point of view, in the development of farm machinery. The greatest progress in this direction, however, has taken place in America, where extensive rather than intensive farming is practised, and where the various agricultural colleges have special departments of agricultural engineering. As a result of the greater attention which has been given to farm machinery from an engineering point of view, a number of books dealing exclusively with the subject have been published recently. One of these, F. N. G. Kranich's *Farm Equipment*,[1] is worthy of individual notice.

The title of this book is, to a certain extent, a misnomer, as the author deals only with such farm equipment as can be operated by a tractor. Curiously enough the tractor itself is not dealt with. The thesis is divided into three sections. Part I deals with draft machinery, Part II with belt-driven machinery, and Part III with miscellaneous topics. The treatment is orderly and concise. Each machine is considered under the headings :— function, types, sizes and rating, field operation, draft or

[1] New York and London : Macmillan. 1924. 12s. 6d.

power required. As stated in the preface, "the author offers this book on farm machinery and its operation as an aid to the manufacturer of farm equipment, to the dealer, distributor, and the service man, and primarily to the farmer himself. It is also intended for college courses and for the use of students in their later professional work." The introduction of a section dealing with the objects to be aimed at in soil cultivation would considerably enhance the value of the book from the manufacturer's, but more especially from the farmer's, point of view.

The use of the tractor for ploughing and various other farming operations was practically unknown in Ireland before the war. During the food campaign its use spread very considerably, but since that time the development has not come up to expectations. The principal cause which operated against the more extensive use of the tractor was the decline in tillage brought about by the reduction in the prices of farm produce, so that much of the land which was broken up during the war was laid down again to grass. Although it would be unwise to define any particular acreage of land as being required to justify the purchase of a tractor, it is evident that the great majority of the farms in Ireland are too small to justify the expenditure. Another factor which has militated against their spread is that, as the size of the holdings in Ireland increases, the proportion of ploughed land decreases. In the case of those holdings which have a sufficient area of ploughed land to justify the expenditure on a tractor, it is probable that its possibilities in the hands of a skilled operator are not sufficiently realised. Light tractors, which can perform most of the farm operations ordinarily performed by horses, are at present available. If comparative costs are worked out for performing such work as ploughing and cultivating, it will be found that tractor work is considerably cheaper than horse labour.

In this changeable climate of ours it is essential that the maximum use be made of short spells of dry weather at critical periods of the year. Particularly on stiff soils it is all-important that the land should be cultivated and cropped when the soil is in good working condition. If the use of a tractor enables this result to be achieved, the value to the farmer of the work done is far in excess of what the work actually costs. Therein lies the great value of the tractor.

For the working of such stationary machinery as grain crushers, root pulpers, and chaff cutters on farms where considerable numbers of stock are kept, a mechanical source of power is invaluable, and would do much to relieve the drudgery usually associated with farm work. On many farms small gasoline engines are being used for performing these operations, and they prove highly satisfactory when the operator has some knowledge of the working of the engine. In countries where electricity is available at reasonable prices, electric motors are replacing gasoline engines as a source of power in the farmyard. In view of the forthcoming development of the Shannon, it is of special importance that Irish farmers should know what is being done in other countries with regard to the utilisation of electricity in agriculture.

In this, as in many other respects, the example of Denmark is worthy of serious consideration. About one-fifth of all farms over two and a half acres in extent have electric power installed. The eastern portion of Denmark is supplied with electricity by submarine cable from Sweden. The western portion of the country is supplied with current either by small plants run by Diesel engines, in which case the voltage is low and the supply limited to two to three miles from the power station, or by large plants producing high voltage electricity and supplying large areas through transformer stations. The larger stations are run by steam turbine engines, but a few are run by water turbines. According to information

kindly supplied by Prof. Christensen, Copenhagen, the cost to the farmer is variable, but the average is 0·40 Kr. (3·6d.) per k.W.h. for power, and 0·60 Kr. (5·4d.) per k.W.h. for light. It is generally considered more expensive to use electric power than to use oil or steam engines where such plants are already installed, but electric power is much preferred on account of its ever readiness for use, cleanliness, absence of danger compared with machines run on inflammable oil, and the fact that operation of the motor requires no special skill on the part of the operator. Electricity is, of course, largely used for lighting dwelling houses, stables, and barns. On the occasion of a visit to Denmark a few years ago, the writer had an opportunity of visiting a number of farms, and amongst others a small holding of about fifteen acres in extent. The farmer kept five cows (average milk yield 700 gallons), five pigs, fifty poultry, and two ponies. The farm-house and buildings were provided with electric light, and a small electric motor supplied the power for operating a root pulper, a corn crusher, and a small thresher. The holding presented a very striking contrast to similar holdings in Ireland.

In Sweden the use of electricity is much more widespread owing to the cheap sources of power. At present, farms representing about 40 per cent. of the arable land are supplied with electricity. The cost per unit varies within wide limits. According to Mr. Ekwall, who is in charge of rural electrification in Sweden, the cost in the densely populated areas works out at about 25 to 30 öre (3·4d. to 4·0d.) per k.W.h., while in the more sparsely populated regions it is 40 to 50 öre (5·3d. to 7·0d.) per k.W.h.

The use of electricity on the farm and in the home is still more widespread in Switzerland, where 360 hydro-electric works produce 3,000 million k.W.h. annually. It is estimated that only 2 per cent. of the population is unprovided with electricity. Electric power is used

almost exclusively for working machines in the house and in the farmyard. The principal machines for which it is used are fruit and wine presses, saw mills, pumps, cranes (for hoisting hay), threshing, grinding, winnowing machines, and dairy machinery. The following table, for which the writer is indebted to Prof. Rohn, Zürich, shows the comparative costs per horse power hour of electric motors and internal combustion engines of various sizes :—

Horse Power.	Electric Motors. Duration of Work.		Internal Combustion Engines. Duration of Work.	
	200 hours.	300 hours.	200 hours.	300 hours.
	Centimes.	Centimes.	Centimes.	Centimes.
2 h.p. Stationary	33·1 (3·2d.)	28·9 (2·8d.)	107·8 (10·4d.)	81·5 (7·9d.)
5 „ „	24·7 (2·3d.)	22·6 (2·2d.)	63·2 (6·1d.)	50·8 (4·9d.)
10 „ „	22·2 (2·1d.)	20·3 (2·0d.)	51·6 (5·0d.)	42·6 (4·1d.)
2 h.p. Locomotive	37·1 (3·6d.)	32·1 (3·1d.)	119·6 (11·6d.)	90·2 (8·7d.)
4 „ „	30·5 (2·9d.)	26·8 (2·6d.)	66·3 (6·4d.)	54·1 (5·2d.)
10 „ „	29·1 (2·8d.)	25·8 (2·5d.)	58·3 (5·6d.)	47·4 (4·6d.)

It would appear from the table that internal combustion engines cannot compete with electricity as a source of power, and that the difference is more accentuated in the case of the smaller than in that of the larger engines.

In America the use of electricity has developed more slowly on farms than in urban areas. Out of a total of 6,500,000 farms in the United States 300,000 have isolated electric lighting plants, that is, plants in which the energy used is generated on the farm, and central service is used on 200,000 to 300,000 farms.[1] The proportion of electrified farms is much larger on the Pacific coast than in any other section of the country. Since irrigation is largely practised along the Pacific coast, there is a large demand for

[1] *Commerce Monthly*, Vol. VI, No. 10, Feb., 1925.

current for water pumping, and this enables central stations to quote a relatively low rate per k.W.h. Hydro-electric plants predominate in the Pacific and Mountain States, a natural development since three-fourths of the available water power of the country is located in that area.

In the middle western and eastern states electricity is mostly generated by oil engines. In the State of Wisconsin 9,881 farms take current from transmission lines and 10,249 have individual plants installed, making a total of 20,130, or 11 per cent. of the farms in the State. The average consumption on farms taking current from central service is about 30 k.W.h. per month, or 360 k.W.h. per year, and the cost works out at about 24·1*c.* per month (12·6d.).[1] It is difficult to obtain exact data as to how much current is used by farmers who have individual plants installed. From a study of the appliances they use, together with a comparison of their total fuel cost with actual data on the fuel cost per k.W.h., it is assumed that they use as much current as farmers who take their supply from transmission lines. Calculating on that assumption, the average cost of current from individual light plants is 35·05*c.* per k.W.h. (18·2d.).

The first serious comprehensive study of the application of electricity to agriculture is that which is being carried out at Red Wing, Minnesota. An experimental line, over 6 miles long, was erected in a rural district in which there were 19 possible consumers. Eleven of these were taking service in 1923. The main purpose of the project is to determine whether electric service can be extended to the farmer on a basis of charges acceptable both to the farmer and to the power company. Investigation revealed that in rural electrification the major portion of the necessary money investment was in distribution rather than in generation, as there was an average of not more than three customers per mile of

[1] University of Wisconsin, Circular 163, July, 1923.

of line. Moreover, it was found that the farmers on existing rural lines do not use as much electricity as the city resident. It was ascertained that there were two reasons for this : (1) existing rural rates, while not exorbitant, were not devised so as to invite liberal consumption ; (2) no one had ever made a serious study of the application of electricity to agriculture, the result being that the farmer did not know how to apply electricity even when it was made available. In the Minnesota experiment there was devised a tentative rate calculated to invite liberal consumption. The charge was divided into two parts. The first was a service charge made up of interest, depreciation, maintenance, taxes, insurance, book-keeping, meter-reading, and core losses. Where there were three farmers to the mile it was estimated that this service charge would amount to $6·90 (31s. 8d.) per month per customer. In addition to this there was a charge of 5 cents (2·7d.) per k.W.h. for the first thirty k.W.h. used, and 3 cents (1·6d.) per k.W.h. for all excess.

The following are actual consumption figures and rates paid for the month of July, 1924 :—[1]

Farmer	A	used	46 k.W.h.,	for which he paid	$8·88	or 19·3c (10·6d.)	per k.W.h.
,,	B	,,	144 ,,	,,	$11·82	,, 8·2c. (4·5d.)	,,
,,	C	,,	372 ,,	,,	$18·66	,, 5·0c. (2·7d).	,,
,,	D[2]	,,	21 ,,	,,	$7·95	,, 37·9c. (20·8d.)	,,
,,	E	,,	450 ,,	,,	$21·00	,, 4·7c. (2·6d.)	,,

It was appreciated that there would be no sense in inviting the farmer to use liberal quantities of electric energy just to earn a low k.W.h. rate. The problem rather lay in determining how the farmer could use considerable quantities of electricity to his own advantage.

The uses of electricity on the farm were divided into three classes :—

(1) Convenience, such as lighting of the home and farm buildings.

(2) Labour-saving devices in the home.

(3) Electrically driven apparatus, which might produce additional revenue.

[1] The Red Wing Line, Minnesota, Committee on the relation of electricity to agriculture. [2] A new consumer.

It was found difficult to put a money value on the convenience of electric lighting, although it was recognised that the cheer of brilliant illumination in the home had its bearing on keeping the young people on the farm.

Labour-saving devices were sub-divided into (*a*) those in use in the home, such as electric irons, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, and sewing machines, and (*b*) those used in the farmyard, such as water pumps, grain crushers, root pulpers, etc.

In the third class were included such appliances as electric incubators, cream separators, refrigeration apparatus, etc.

A vast amount of equipment of doubtful utility was required to make complete tests. This was forthcoming as a result of a co-operative arrangement with the power company. The company loaned the equipment to the farmers for a period of three years. At the end of that period the farmer might retain the equipment at an agreed price or return it to the company. The company built the line and agreed to supply the test meters, so that the consumption of each appliance might be measured accurately. It also agreed to supply free of charge such current as might be required for purely experimental purposes. While the results of the experiment are not yet available, the committee of management are confident that electricity can be made to pay its way on the farm.

The experiment may serve as a useful guide in solving the problem of rural electrification in Ireland.

A different system has been adopted in Canada for the purpose of promoting the extension of rural electrification. In the province of Ontario, which is the most extensively electrified province in Canada, legislation was enacted in 1911 to provide electric service for groups of rural consumers who petitioned for it. The service was supplied, as in towns and cities, at cost, under a contract between the individual and the township; but this method of giving service to groups had to be revised at a later date

on account of the apparent injustice to consumers on the back lines of the township. Under the amended legislation various districts were grouped together and electric service given at the same rate throughout the district. In 1921 legislation was further enacted providing a bonus for rural power distribution primary lines up to 50 per cent. of the cost.

In isolated sections of the province a number of farmers have installed gasoline electric units for lighting and the use of small appliances. These units, in nearly all cases, have been supplanted by hydro-power where lines have been built within reach of the customer.

The rates to users in rural districts are based on service at cost and are made up of two parts—the service charge and the power cost. The former is designed to cover the annual fixed charges and operating costs, the latter, in the form of a first and second k.W.h. charge, being based on the cost of power at the point of delivery. The service charges are 5*c.* (2·5d.) per k.W.h. for the first 14 hours' use per month, and 2*c.* (1d.) per k.W.h. for all remaining uses.

The following table shows the average monthly consumption, estimated annual consumption charge, estimated annual service charge, total estimated annual cost, and average cost per unit for small, medium, and heavy farm service.[1]

Description.	Small Farm Service.	Medium Farm Service.	Heavy Farm Service.
Average Monthly Consumption k.W.h.	35	70	150
Estimated Annual Consumption Charge	$17·28	$37·80	$73·22
Estimated Annual Service Charge ·	$37·26	$51·30	$79·38
Total Estimated Annual Cost · ·	$54·54	$89·10	$152·60
Average Cost per k.W.h.. · ·	13*c.* (6·5d.)	10·6*c.* (5·3d.)	8·5*c.* (4·25d.)

[1] J. W. Purcell and A. C. Lang: *Electricity on the Farm.*

Small farm service refers to farms under 50 acres in extent, and includes lighting of home and farm buildings, power for miscellaneous small equipment, power for single phase motor not to exceed 2 h.p. demand, or small electric range. Range and motors are not to be used simultaneously. Medium farm service includes the services mentioned under small farm service, but provides for motors up to 5 h.p. demand, while heavy farm service provides for motors from 10-20 h.p. demand.

In England the use of Electricity is very limited compared with the countries already mentioned. At the twenty-fifth annual general meeting of the Metropolitan-Vickers Electric Company, held in London on 7th April, 1925, the following statement was made by the Chairman, Sir Philip Nash : " Taking the total units produced in each country and dividing these so as to show the output per head of population, we find in 1922—the last complete figures available—the following results :—

Great Britain ..	..	133 units.
U.S.A. ..	..	450 ,,
Switzerland ..	..	682 ,,
Canada ..	..	765 ,,
Sweden ..	..	475 ,,
Germany ..	..	120 ,,
Italy	..	103 ,,
Norway ..	..	1,850 ,,
Belgium ..	..	230 ,,

The comparison shows very clearly the relatively backward condition of that country electrically. Complete statistics for the years 1923 and 1924 are not yet available for all the main countries of the world ; but in 1923 the British figure had arisen to 155, that of Italy to 129, U.S.A. to 528, Switzerland to 805, and Canada to 910."[1]

Using the same basis of calculation, the present output per head of the population of the Irish Free State works

[1] *The Times*, April 8, 1925.

out at approximately 18 units (55 million units for a population of 3·1 millions).

If we make a further index of comparative development—viz., the financial—we find, according to Sir Philip Nash, that the capital invested per head of the population in the U.S.A. in 1923 was $42·5 (£9 5s. 0d.), in Canada $77·00 (£17), in Switzerland £10 5s. 0d., and in Great Britain £4 15s. 0d.

The total output and capital invested per head of the population in the Irish Free State under the partial and further development stages are shown in the following table :—

—	Total Output per Head of Population.	Capital Invested per Head of Population.
Partial Development · ·	50 Units.	£1 13s. 7d.
Further Development · ·	76 ,,	£2 6s. 4d.

Compared with other civilised countries in the world, we cannot be accused of proposing to do anything very rash in developing such modest quantities of electrical energy at such relatively small cost.

In order to get some idea of the comparative cost of paraffin and electricity for lighting purposes, we may assume that an ordinary two-wick paraffin lamp will burn for about 10 hours on a quart of paraffin and will give a light equivalent to about 20 candle power. The retail price of paraffin is 4d. per quart. Therefore, on the above assumptions, a two-wick paraffin lamp will give 200 candle hours for 4d., or one candle hour costs 0·02d.

Comparing this with electricity, we may take as an example a 40-Watt ½-Watt lamp, which gives a light equivalent to 60 candle power. Such a lamp uses 1,000 watts or 1 unit of electricity in 25 hours. Taking the price of electricity at 7½d. per unit for lighting—the present price in the city of Cork—a 40-Watt ½-watt lamp provides 1,500 candle hours for 7½d. The lamp costs approxi-

mately 3s. and has a life of 1,200 hours. Therefore depreciation per lamp per 25 hours $= \frac{36 \times 25}{1200}$d. $= \frac{3}{4}$d. That is, 1,500 candle hours cost $8\frac{1}{4}$d. or 1 candle hour costs ·0055d. The interest on the cost of wiring in the case of the electric light would be counterbalanced by the cost of globes and wick required by the paraffin lamp.

Therefore, calculating on the assumptions mentioned, electricity at $7\frac{1}{2}$d. per unit provides one candle hour of light at about one quarter the price of paraffin when the latter costs 4d. per quart.

In addition to this there is the cleanliness of electric light and the ease with which it can be manipulated. For farm buildings electricity provides a very safe light where hay and straw are stored, and would facilitate work about the farmyard in the early hours of the morning and late hours of the evening during the winter months.

For power purposes in country districts electricity is most likely to be used for operating such machines as grain crushers, root pulpers, chaff cutters, milk separators, churns, and milking machines where these are installed. On farms where these machines are at present in use they are usually operated by small paraffin engines. The writer has carried out tests on the costs of performing two of these operations—root pulping and grain crushing—using paraffin as a source of power, so that a comparison can be made with the figures quoted in Table 49 of the Siemens-Schuckert Report giving the current consumption figures ascertained by practical experience for operating a number of farm machines.

A 7 h.p. paraffin engine operating a pulping machine pulped four tons of mangels in one hour and consumed three pints of paraffin and $\frac{3}{5}$th of a pint of lubricating oil. The paraffin was purchased at the price of 1s. per gallon and the lubricating oil at 2s. 6d. per gallon. Therefore the fuel and lubricating oil costs per hour amounted to $6\frac{3}{4}$d. The engine originally cost £84, and is assumed to have a life of 20 years, working on an average of 10

hours per week throughout the year. Repairs are assumed to cost £1 per annum, although in this particular case they are costing considerably more. Depreciation, interest, and repairs work out at about 3½d. per working hour. Therefore it costs 10¼d. to pulp four tons of mangels, or 2½d. per ton.

Assuming an electric motor costs about £20 and works for the same length of time, interest and depreciation amount to less than 1d. per working hour. According to Table 49, Siemens-Shuckert Report, a turnip cutter consumes 0·01–0·02 k.W.p. of electricity per cwt. The same consumption may be taken for mangel-pulping. Taking the average figure the amount of current required to cut one ton of turnips is 0 3 k.W.h. Assuming that the operation took the same length of time as in the previous case, ¼d. should be allowed for interest and depreciation. Therefore, in the circumstances mentioned, the costs of pulping a ton of mangels by paraffin and electricity are identical when the former is available at 1s. per gallon and the latter at 7½d. per unit. It is fairly certain that electricity, even in country districts, will cost less than 7½d. per unit for power purposes. Electricity has the further advantage already mentioned that the motor is easy to start and, while running, requires much less supervision than a paraffin engine.

The same engine was used to operate an oat crusher which crushed one ton of oats in four hours on a paraffin consumption of 1½ gallons and a pint of lubricating oil. The cost of the paraffin and lubricating oil works out at 1s. 9¾d., interest and depreciation at 1s. 2d., or the total cost of grinding one ton of oats at 2s. 11¾d. The table already quoted gives an electricity consumption of 0·25 k.W.h. per cwt. of oats crushed, or 5 k.W.h. per ton. Assuming interest and depreciation at 4d., the equivalent cost of crushing a ton of oats by electricity is 2s. 7d. or 6·35d. per unit, which again is more than electricity is likely to cost for power purposes in country districts.

It would seem, therefore, that for running small machines on the farm, a paraffin engine is more costly than an electric motor when current is available at a reasonable price. The electric motor has the further advantage that it is simpler to operate, requires less attention when running, and gives a much smoother drive.

The fourth heading under which consumption of electricity in rural areas is considered in Siemens-Schuckert Report is creameries. Judging by the correspondence in the press, it would appear as if undue importance is attached to creameries as potential current consumers. In the Report it is assumed that only 2·5 million units will be used in creameries under the partial development scheme out of a total estimated consumption of 110 million units, or about $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. In reality, therefore, the economics of the scheme will not be seriously affected even if creameries take none of the current allotted to them. That, however, is not likely to be the case, as many creameries, particularly those which are at present equipped with steam only, are likely to find the utilisation of electricity for power purposes an economic proposition. It is not likely that electricity will compete with coal for the production of steam for heating and sterilising purposes.

In England, France, and Germany ploughing and cultivating are done by electricity.[1] The apparatus involved is, however, cumbersome and costly and requires considerable skill for its successful operation. As the vast majority of Irish farms are much too small for the use of such machinery, it is not likely that there will be any appreciable demand here for electricity for work in the fields.

In recent years there has been a considerable development on the continent in the utilisation of electricity in the making of ensilage.[2] The method is based on the fact

[1] Mathews, R. B.: *Electro-farming, or the Application of Electricity to Agriculture* (Jour. Institute of Electrical Engineers, Vol. 60, No. 311, July, 1922).

[2] Walem, H.: *Electricity in Agriculture* (The Transactions of the first World Power Conference, London, 1924. Vol. IV).

that plant cells are destroyed when heated to 50°C. This temperature also favours quick growth of the various kinds of bacteria essential for a successful preservation. The temperature-rise is effected by the electric current passing through the fodder, which acts as a resistance. The electric energy is in this manner transformed into heat and produces the quick and even temperature-rise necessary for the vigorous development of the lactic-acid bacteria on which good preservation is dependent. The energy consumption is about 150 to 200 k.W.h. per 10 tons of fodder. The provision of cheap current should, therefore, provide a necessary fillip to the silage system of preservation of crops, which is so well adapted to our uncertain climate.

Reference should be made to electro-culture, or the stimulating of plant growth by means of high tension electric discharges over the growing plants. As the treatment is still in the experimental stage, it is not possible in the present state of our knowledge to estimate its potentialities.

So far as the utilisation of electricity in rural Ireland is concerned, there is a need for more information on the comparative costs of lighting and the performing of the usual operations in the home and in the farmyard by the customary methods and by electricity. If the farmer can be shown that the utilisation of electricity saves him time and money and makes life more tolerable, the rural demand is likely to surpass the experts' expectations.

C. Boyle.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND INTERNATIONAL LAW [1]

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

ON the subject of international law I cannot speak as a lawyer but as a student of human affairs and social needs, and no student of social needs at the present time can ignore international relations. One of the excuses a layman can make for venturing to speak about international law is that many lawyers assert that there is no such law in the real sense of the word law. Well, if there is not, there ought to be. The absence of law means lawlessness; it means anarchy. This is not a playing upon words. It is a hard, terrible fact.

St. Thomas Aquinas begins his treatise on law by saying that law belongs not to will but to reason. At first sight this may seem a very curious saying, but we shall find it to be a very pregnant one. The Saint quotes the Roman jurist, who says: "Whatsoever pleaseth the sovereign has force of law." The Saint does not accept this. Law is a rule and measure of acts, says St. Thomas, whereby man is induced to act or is restrained from acting. Now the rule and measure of human acts—I am still quoting St. Thomas—is the reason, which is the first principle of human acts, because it belongs to reason to direct to the *end*, and the *end* is the first principle in all matters of action.

You see from this that St. Thomas regards law as being nothing personal or arbitrary. In order that a command may have the nature of law, he says, it needs to be in accord with some rule of reason; otherwise the sovereign's will would savour of lawlessness rather than of law.

[1] An address delivered under the auspices of the Catholic Council for International Relations, London, April 27, 1925.

St. Thomas proceeds to treat " of the various kinds of law." The first kind is the Eternal Law. A law is nothing else but a dictate of practical reason emanating from a ruler who governs a perfect community. (The word " perfect " here means " complete.") Now the whole community of the universe is governed by Divine Reason. Wherefore the very Idea of the government of things in God, the Ruler of the universe, has the nature of law. Eternal law is the expression of the infinitely perfect and unchangeable nature of God.

The next kind of law is Natural Law. The Natural Law is the creature's natural inclination to its proper act and end. The light of natural reason whereby we discern what is good and what is evil, which is the function of the Natural Law, is nothing else than an imprint on us of the Divine Light. The Natural Law is not something different from the Eternal Law, but is a participation thereof.

The third kind of law is Human Law. We have the precepts of the Natural Law written in our hearts, but these precepts are only general principles. The human reason needs to proceed to more particular determinations of certain matters. These particular determinations, devised by human reason, are called human laws, provided the other essential conditions of law be observed. These other essential conditions to which the Saint refers are stated in his definition of law as : *An ordinance of reason for the common good, made by him who has care of the community, and promulgated.*

In the whole literature of philosophy I do not think there is anything more superb than this brief and simple definition of law. All human law, St. Thomas tells us, in so far as it partakes of right reason, is derived from the Eternal Law. But in so far as it deviates from reason, it is called an unjust law, and has the nature, not of law, but of violence.

Law pertains not to will but to reason. We are now seeing into the depths of the meaning of this truth. We

cannot have law or no law at our pleasure. The sovereign cannot make law or no law at his pleasure. We are under law because we are under God, because we have an end to which God wills that we be directed. We are bound to take the means towards that end. We are bound to read the Natural Law written in our hearts. We are bound to make the more particular determinations of certain matters for the common good which are called human laws.

In these modern times it is boasted that there has been established the Reign of Law. It is said that in Western Europe we have dethroned the Personal Ruler, the Absolute Monarch, the Autocrat, the Despot. It is our boast that the Government itself is subject to the law. If it exceeds its powers under the law, the humblest citizen can proceed in the courts against it. We honour as national heroes the men who have stood for the Constitution against the King and his Ministers. Even a low-down blackguard like John Wilkes is praised as one of the champions of English liberties because he withstood illegal action by the House of Commons.

But it is simply not true that we have in modern times set up the Reign of Law. We have not abolished arbitrary power. We have not put autocracy under the rule of law. On the contrary, the Modern State has set up arbitrary power, it has professed and practised absolutism, despotism, and tyranny in the true sense of those words. This arbitrary power is none the less arbitrary, none the less despotic because it is impersonal. The arbitrary power of which I speak is the Modern State itself, that monstrous thing which lawyers call the Sovereign State. The definition of the Sovereign State is that it recognises no law except its own will.

Our English lawyers have learned from Hobbes and Bentham and Austin that sovereignty is unlimited and must be unlimited by its very nature. They have been brought to believe that a limited sovereignty is a contra-

diction in terms, that there cannot be a scientific analysis of legal questions unless the power of the sovereign is treated as unlimited. Even such an enlightened teacher as Sir Frederick Pollock tells us that it is an abuse of language to say of any act of a supreme legislature that it is illegal. I will not enter into a discussion of legal terminology, but I will point out that if this treatment of law is not a denial of morality, it is at least a separation of law from morality, a divorce of law and justice. Thus it is possible for Sir Frederick Pollock to give as his definition: "Laws are the commands of the supreme governor, or, to use the term now adopted, the sovereign." This is modern, but it is not new. It is simply the classic dictum which St. Thomas quoted and criticised: "Whatsoever pleaseth the sovereign has force of law."

The theory of absolute national sovereignty is a denial of Christianity, because it is a denial of the brotherhood of man. It sounds rhetorical, and even sentimental, to refer to the brotherhood of man in a discussion of law. But I cannot help talking about the brotherhood of man if I talk about the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church is the brotherhood of man. What is the mark which distinguishes the believer in Christ? The question is answered by our Divine Lord: *A new commandment I give unto you: that you love one another. . . By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love one for another. . . All you are brethren.* St. Paul proclaimed the meaning of the Catholic Church when he wrote to the Galatians: *For you are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptised in Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek: there is neither bond nor free: there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus.*

This is a theological doctrine, but it has a great deal to do with politics and law. There is neither Frenchman nor Prussian, neither Briton nor Pole, for you are all one. It doesn't sound practical politics, does it? But it was

thought to be practical politics by St. Augustine, with his grand conception of the Christian Commonwealth, the City of God, to be worked towards by the Church on earth and to be realised completely in the world to come. It was practical politics to all the great Catholic thinkers of the Middle Ages, not only to the so-called Papalists like St. Thomas Aquinas, but to the so-called Imperialists like Dante. All the medievalists conceived of the whole body of the faithful, all who had been baptised in Christ, as a community, not only religious, but in some sense political. The whole world was, or ought to be, a community. Now if there was a world community, there was a common good of the world, and there was a law for the world. It was not a question of whether men recognised a law or not, or obeyed it or not. Let us recall St. Thomas's definition : " Law is an ordinance of reason for the common good, made by him who has care of the community, and promulgated."

Reason ordains. It is not will which ordains. Law is necessary for every community, and the world is a community. But who has care of that community, and who promulgates ? To answer that question would take me into medieval controversies. There was no complete answer that was unanimous. There was a measure of agreement. The medievalists did not think that the sovereign must be some determinate person in the Austinian sense. God was the sovereign of sovereigns. He had promulgated the general principles of conduct by writing them in the human heart. This was the Natural Law, which bound nations as well as individuals.

They were bound further by the Ius Gentium, the Law of Nations. These terms, the Law of Nature and the Law of Nations, have not got fixed and uniform and distinct meanings, but the differences among Catholic teachers are not of much importance. The differences are chiefly about questions of classification. All laws which were really laws, whether they were referred to as the Natural

Law or the Law of Nations, were sacred, for they all participated of the Eternal Law. It is, however, interesting to observe that a great Catholic of the seventh century, St. Isidore, Archbishop of Seville, used the term Ius Gentium, not as the classical Roman lawyers had used it, but as modern lawyers use the term international law. The Ius Gentium, says St. Isidore, has to do with " the occupation of territory, the building and fortification of cities and castles, wars, captivities, enslavements, the recovery of rights of postliminy, treaties of peace and others, the scruple which protects ambassadors from violence, and prohibitions of marriage between persons of different nationality."

St. Isidore's division of the Law of Nations from Natural Law was accepted and defended by St. Thomas, but it must be emphasised that this division was principally a question of classification. Nations were bound both by the Law of Nature and the Ius Gentium.

I have said that St. Isidore meant by the Law of Nations very much what a modern lawyer means by International Law. The subject matter is very much the same, but the fundamental difference is as to the nature of law, St. Thomas teaches that law pertains not to the will but to the reason. Law is not law because of the will of any earthly sovereign or even because of the consent of the governed. Law is a dictate of reason, something implied by the nature of things. There is a theory of democracy which makes out the source of authority to be the consent of the governed. It is a false theory, as false as the opposite theory that it is the will of the ruler that makes law. The theory is false because no individual and no aggregation of individuals are free to withhold their consent to government. They are free, within certain limitations, to determine the form of government but not the fact of government. The modern lawyer regards nations in the same way that the false sort of democracy regards the people. A nation is under no law

except what it agrees to of its own will. So far as there is something called International Law it is only a code of rules which nations have agreed to be bound by, and every nation is free to decide for itself to what rules it will be bound. International law is thus reduced to a species of contract, not a necessary and permanent contract, but a variable and terminable one. And as international law thus depends on the wills of the nations, the nations are guided in determining their conduct simply by views of their own interests. Often enough these particular interests will be common interests, but this is rather accidental than essential. Now to St. Isidore, as to every Catholic thinker, international law has an authority higher than the wills of high contracting parties. Law is imposed on nations as on individuals by Nature, or more shortly, by God. Nations are as naturally under law as individuals. It is for nations to discover and promulgate and observe the rules which serve the common good of the community, of nations, as it is for rulers to legislate for the good of their subjects.

We come to the question of war. At one time what were called private wars were prevalent. They were justified when they were the only available means of vindicating justice. They ceased to be necessary with the development of kingly power and law and order. When they ceased to be necessary they ceased to be just. The Catholic Church strove through many centuries to make them unnecessary, and she promoted such institutions as the Pax Ecclesiae, the Leagues of Peace, and the Truce of God.

We have still national wars. They may be justifiable only as long as there are no better ways of establishing justice. But the National State as we know it to-day does not represent the end of political evolution. An organisation and an authority higher than that of any single nation may be set up, an international authority that will declare the law of nations, law in the sense of a

dictate of reason for the common good; an authority that will judge disputes between nations and decide them by an appeal to that right reason which is law, and this supreme authority alone will have the right of authorising a resort to war. When that time comes a merely national war will be a private war, an unauthorised war, a lawless war. That is to say, it will be an unjust war. I need not point out that the League of Nations is meant to be such a supreme authority, not yet quite adequate in its constitution or satisfactory in its policy, but still an institution which I think Catholics must wish to support, and also to improve.

I have been trying to show you, in the light of Catholic teaching, the nature and necessity of International Law, and our duty as Catholics to make that law effective. For the purpose of setting the Catholic position in sharpest relief I have contrasted it with extreme theories of absolutism and arbitrariness. I do not wish to suggest that the general non-Catholic position is so opposed to the Catholic position. There are very few people who would deny that moral principles should bind nations. Those international lawyers who deny that international law is law in the strict sense of the word mean only to deny that it accords with a certain technical definition of law. We Catholics are foremost in acknowledging the epoch-marking work of the Protestant Grotius, as Grotius acknowledged his debt to Suarez, to restore true ideas of international law after those ideas had been cast aside during the periods of the Renaissance and the Reformation. Catholics are happy to see the earnestness with which non-Catholics of the highest ability at the present day are devoting themselves to the establishment of international justice. It is precisely because we Catholics base the Law of Nations on the Law of Nature that we are assured of being able to co-operate with non-Catholics in setting up an international rule of law.

It may be asked what has the Catholic Church to do

with international law. The Church is the divinely appointed guardian and exponent of the Moral Law, of which all human or positive laws are but particular determinations, if they are good laws. The Church is concerned to see that the Moral Law is made effective in all human relations, of which international relations are not the least important. The Church is a Catholic Church, not a national church, and is not subordinate to national interests. It would be amusing, if it were not shocking, to observe how easily men come to assume that the Church exists for the sake of the State. Not long ago a distinguished British general seriously advocated a British Empire Church as a means of unifying the Empire. It is only the Catholic Church which can, in the long run, maintain itself as a Free Church, a church which is not subordinated to political and other temporal interests.

The Church has a long tradition of service to the cause of international law. The Church has always been the preacher and teacher of law. It is her divine mission to be so. At one stage in the evolution of European civilisation the Church was more than this : the Holy See was Christendom's International Court of Justice. Historians pay tribute to the service which the Church rendered to Europe in this way, but it was a service called for by the circumstances of the time. It does not belong to the divine mission of the Church to exercise international jurisdiction in the affairs of this world. The Church does not claim any more authority in international law than in the domestic legislation of States. The Church sets true principles and ideals before men, and she inspires them with that reverence for law which is needed if law is to be obeyed when obedience runs counter to men's interests and passions.

The making of a code of international law will be no easy task, and it is hardly possible that the law will ever be effective without the sanctions of religion. Fundamental difficulties have shown themselves in the brief

history of the League of Nations. The largest and richest nation in the world has refused to join the League. The obligations of the Covenant have been deliberately left vague. The Protocol which was intended to make those obligations more precise has been rejected by the British Empire. The Protocol itself excluded international authority from the question of immigration laws. A handful of white men claim the right to keep a whole continent practically empty rather than allow any part of it to be colonised by yellow men. Here is a problem of international law which will one day have to be solved, not simply in accordance with the interests and desires of the strongest powers, but in a way which will be approved by the conscience of the world.

An English lawyer, Mr. F. N. Keen, has recently had the courage to define the chief duties of States. He expresses them as follows :—

1. *No Aggressive War.*—No State shall make aggressive war upon another State, or use or threaten to use armed force against another State, except in self-defence or in performance of a common duty of all States to co-operate for the purpose of restraining any breach of the peace of the world, or for the purpose of ensuring compliance with international laws, conventions or obligations.

II. *Peaceful Settlement of Disputes.*—If a State is party to any dispute (including a dispute as to existing rights, obligations, interests or boundaries, or a dispute of any other kind), and such dispute is not settled by other means, the State shall, in conjunction with the other disputant, submit the same to the decision of an impartial tribunal. If the parties to the dispute do not agree upon a tribunal, and a permanent tribunal appropriate for the particular type of dispute is provided by the League of Nations, the submission shall be to that tribunal.

III. *Discharge of International Debts and Obligations.*—Every State shall discharge every international debt and perform every international agreement or obligation to

which it is a party, unless released therefrom by agreement or by a decision of a tribunal or authority having jurisdiction to direct such release.

Mr. Keen submits seven more duties of States besides these three. They are all more or less formidable and contentious. I quote Mr. Keen, not because I want to endorse or criticise what he says, but in order to show you what hard and rather dry problems are involved in international law when we leave the region of general principle and come to make determinations in detail. It would almost be misrepresenting the nature of the subject if it were stated merely as one of principle. We can best help those who have the task of making the detailed determinations if we create in their support an enlightened public opinion, or, better still, a Christian public conscience. In the Encyclical letter, *Ubi Arcano Dei*, which our Holy Father Pius XI gave to the Church at the beginning of his pontificate, it is said :—

> God and the Lord Christ have been removed from the conduct of human affairs, authority is now derived not from God but from men, and it has come about—in addition to the fact that the laws lack the true and sound sanctions and the supreme principles of justice which even pagan philosophers like Cicero recognised must be sought in the eternal law of God—that the very foundations of morality have been swept away by removing the primary reason by which some have the right to rule, others the duty of obedience. . . . .
>
> But there is a Divine Institution able to safeguard the sanctity of the law of nations, an institution both belonging to and at the same time superior to all nations, endowed with supreme authority and venerable for the perfection of its magisterium : the Church of Christ ; the one institution capable of undertaking so heavy a charge, from its divine mandate, from its own nature and constitution, from the greatness of its traditions and the majesty it has held throughout the centuries ; never weakened by storms of war, but rather marvellously strengthened.

H. Somerville.

A NEW METHOD OF WAGE DISTRIBUTION

BY VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD

CATHOLIC sociologists have paid more reasoned attention to the needs of the human family than those of either Liberal or Socialist schools of thought. By them, as we all know, the family, and not the individual, has been accepted as the unit on which to build up our social and economic structure. It is largely due to them that, on the continent, at least a theoretic recognition of a "living wage" as a fundamental right of the worker has been generally conceded. Curiously enough, far less attention has been paid to methods of wage distribution than to the amount of the wages fund, and it is probably true to say that most people still accept unquestioningly our individualistic method of wage-paying, based exclusively on the supposed value of the labour and skill of the worker as the only reasonable—indeed, as the only possible—method in modern industry. It is to France that we have to turn if we wish to find a tardy recognition of the importance, both to the worker and to the employer, of this problem of wage distribution, which is to-day being extensively met on the Continent by the system known as *allocations familiales*, a term not very happily rendered in English by "family endowment."

To find the true origin of this innovation—for in practice it only dates from post-war years—we have to go back well-nigh half a century to the time when Count Albert de Mun was preaching Christian democracy throughout the length and breadth of France, and when Léon Harmel, the *bon père* of Val-des-Bois, was putting into practice in his cotton-mills those social doctrines which were soon to find the official sanction of the Church in Leo XIII.'s *Rerum Novarum*. Harmel, as is well known,

established a whole network of *œuvres* at Val-des-Bois, all of them planned to raise the moral and material standard of the factory-worker and to give him a direct interest in his labour. This Harmel did, not as an act of charity, but as a duty imposed by social justice, and undoubtedly the lot of the Val-des-Bois workers in regard to housing, sanitation, hours of labour, security and so forth was immeasurably superior to that of the average mill-hand. But M. Harmel, watching over his employees with paternal eyes, observed that in spite of all he had done to raise the standard of living of his workers, conditions of health and comfort still remained unsatisfactory in families where there were three or more children. Such households remained at a low level, the children ill-fed and ill-clad. M. Harmel could not persuade himself, so he explained to the present writer, that it was his actual duty as a *patron* to pay higher wages to a worker with many children—such a system seemed to him to run contrary to all the economic principles of industry—but still less could he, as a Christian, reconcile himself to any of his dependants lacking the necessaries of life. In this dilemma he constituted a small special fund out of which he was wont to grant, as a thing quite apart from the wages earned, weekly allowances to all parents of more than three children. In other words, he instituted, in a private way, what we now know as *allocations familiales*.

Many Catholic employers throughout France imitated the enlightened industrial policy that the Harmel firm pursued with marked success right up to the War (when the whole factory was destroyed during the German bombardment of Rheims), and, thanks to them, a great deal was done in individual factories which compensated in a measure for the comparative lack of social legislation in France. Moreover, all through these years the Catholic social movement was in full swing, laymen and priests vying with one another in preaching the doctrines of the Leonine labour encyclicals. Thus it happened that early

in the present century the Abbé Cetty, of Mulhouse, a priest of strong "social" sympathies, delivered a series of lectures at Grenoble on Christian industrial duties and responsibilities, and among his hearers was M. Romanet, manager of the great ironworks known as the Maison Joya, himself a devout Catholic and a man of energy and vision. Fired by what he heard from the Abbé Cetty, he proceeded to introduce bit by bit a series of beneficent reforms into the Joya foundries, including some form of consultative workers' councils, and in due course M. Romanet's attention was called by the men to the poverty and hardships endured by their comrades who happened to be the fathers of four or five children. Thus M. Romanet found himself faced with precisely the same problem as had confronted Léon Harmel thirty years earlier. Moreover, thoughtful men in France had by this time become alive to the national danger of a stationary population, while yet allowing the few prolific families to bear unaided a crushing financial burden. M. Romanet set himself resolutely to find a solution. Merely to pay higher wages to a workman because he was blessed with a large family was of no avail, for such a policy would quickly result in the exclusion of such men from industry altogether on the plea of economy. Yet to bring the wages of all workers, married and unmarried alike, up to a level sufficient to ensure comfort and well-being to the exceptional family of six or eight children appeared to him at once impracticable and unnecessary.

Allowances for children, therefore, seemed the only alternative, and M. Romanet first started them, under the name of *sursalaires familiales*, for his own men on a very small scale: 7.50 frs. a month for the first child, increasing up to 12 frs. a month for the fourth and each succeeding child. The plan "caught on" with amazing rapidity; other employers at Grenoble—a very large industrial centre for *métallurgie*—were anxious to follow suit and pay these popular allowances on an agreed scale.

It was M. Romanet who devised a remedy for the first and most obvious obstacle to be overcome, by instituting a pool (or *caisse*) into which every federated employer paid a sum calculated on the whole number of his employees, and out of which the allowances were paid each month directly to the parents of dependant children. Thus no employer was tempted to discriminate against married men, while the sum required from each amounted to a very small percentage of his total wages bill. In this way there was founded in France (May, 1918) the first *Caisse de Compensation pour Allocations Familiales*, and the story of their rapid development throughout the country has been admirably told by Miss Eleanor Rathbone in her weighty volume, *The Disinherited Family*.[1]

From her well-documented pages we learn that *Caisses de Compensation* have been springing up in all directions in the last six years, sometimes on a regional and sometimes on an occupational or professional basis. One of the most remarkable of the latter type is the Roubaix-Tourcoing *Caisse*, founded by the federation of textile manufacturers of the district. It gives larger benefits than any other, *i.e.*, 2 frs. per day for the first child, 5 frs. for two children, 8 frs. for three, 12 frs. for four, and 15 frs. for five children. The amount distributed has steadily increased from 96,000 frs. in 1919 to 17,765,468 frs. in 1924. Nantes and Paris, on the other hand, each have flourishing regional *Caisses*, in which all branches of trade and industry are represented. Altogether there are to-day, according to the latest figures available (Jan., 1925), some 160 *Caisses* in operation in France, covering some 10,000 firms and paying varying benefits, which are roughly calculated at one-third of the cost of child-rearing. In addition, family allowances have been made compulsory for all government and municipal employees, railway servants, postmen, etc., so that the amount expended in

[1] London: Arnold. 1924. 7s. 6d. net.

allowances is now calculated at the enormous total of 900 million francs a year, distributed among three million wage-earners, or two-thirds of all the wage-earners of the country.

The reason of this truly amazing growth—though Miss Rathbone somewhat fails to appreciate this—lies surely in the fact that the scheme corresponds so exactly to the teaching of the French Catholic social school concerning the family, the relations of capital and labour, and so forth. The plan at the outset excited veritable enthusiasm. Every social-minded Catholic employer felt that here at last was a practical plan by which, without unduly burdening his industry, he could effectively relieve the poverty of his employees and do his share in building up a healthy Christian family life for the nation. A further motive was undoubtedly that of counteracting the devastating effects of birth-control propaganda concerning which Mr. Denis Gwynn has written an illuminating chapter in his recent volume, *The Catholic Reaction in France*. Many causes, apart from the decay of religious faith—the laws of inheritance, the housing shortage, the high cost of living—have all tended to popularise practices which have resulted in an alarmingly low birth-rate, the remedies for which proposed at times by the Government, such as medals and cheaper railway fares for large families, have been ludicrously inadequate. But it was believed with much show of reason that the institution of *allocations familiales*, by removing in some measure the economic obstacles to child-bearing, would have effected an appreciable improvement in the birth-rate. It is with this object that the allowance has been almost invariably fixed on an ascending scale as the family increases. Thus in the French civil service the allowance, since a recent increase, has stood as follows: 540 frs. a year for first child, 720 frs. for second, 1,080 for third, and 1,060 frs. for fourth and any subsequent child. So strong, indeed, was the expectation of good results from allow-

ances that the promoters of the *Caisses* found a fertile field of propaganda in the *congrès de natalité* held annually in different French towns. Unhappily this expectation has apparently not been fulfilled. According to the latest available statistics published (Feb., 1925) by the Family Endowment Society,[1] the birth-rate of the ten largest towns in France still shews a progressive diminution, while their excess of births over deaths, which in 1923 was 8,122, had fallen in 1924 to 7,391. It is, however, probably too soon to speak with certainty as to the effect of family allowances upon the birth-rate. What happily is beyond question is that they react most favourably on the health and welfare of the children on whose behalf they were instituted, and are proving a potent weapon in the campaign against infant mortality.

Family allowances have, indeed, been generally used by their originators as a means of developing infant welfare work. The money being paid solely in the interests of the children, it was natural, and indeed laudable, that steps should be taken to ensure that it fulfilled its purpose. It is with this object that most *Caisses*, in addition to the monthly allowances, pay a lump sum at birth (*prime de naissance*), and sometimes also a *prime d'allaitement* for all breast-fed infants. Unfortunately the welfare work has been accompanied by a certain amount of domestic supervision of the workers' families, and this in some districts has been somewhat hotly resented, all the more that the intruding visitors have been regarded as the representatives of the employers. It seems certain that in some cases the visiting has been done in a tactless and inquisitorial manner, while it is admitted that certain firms have made use of the allowances as a means of bringing pressure to bear on the worker in order to discourage strikes and irregular time-keeping.

It is here that we come to the cause of most of the criticisms that have been levelled against the system.

[1] 50 Romney Street, London, S.W.1.

The Trade-Unions of France were at the outset suspicious of the whole movement, where indeed they were not definitely hostile, seeing in it a fresh means of keeping the worker and his family in tutelage. By degrees, however, their attitude, even of those affiliated to the Socialist Confédération Générale du Travail, has become far more friendly. They now approve in principle of the allowances on the ground that "they enable a fairer distribution of the product of labour and a higher standard of life for children." Where a very wide division of opinion still prevails is as to the best practical methods of carrying the principle into effect. Hitherto the *Caisses*, having been organised by separate federations of industries, have varied greatly in many particulars—and in this way much useful experience has been gained—but they have practically all been directed by the employers, with no real co-operation from the side of the worker, who has had to accept whatever conditions and benefits his employer has been pleased to determine. Moreover, many large employers of labour still remain outside the system altogether. Hence a growing inequality between workers, even in the same industry or district, a state of affairs which Trade Unions specially exist to combat.

To-day it is widely felt in industrial circles throughout France that private enterprise in a matter so vital to the workers' welfare can no longer be accepted as satisfactory. Summarising the various protests that have been made and resolutions adopted at trade union and other gatherings within the last two years, it would appear that the fathers of families receiving the allowances feel strongly and justifiably that they should have a voice in the framing and administration of the schemes by which they are to benefit, and that allowances—being accepted as something apart from wages—should continue through periods of strike and unemployment. It would probably also assist in the peaceful development of the system if the monthly allowances were invariably paid

by the Secretary of the *Caisse*, and not, as often happens, by the individual employer. Writing as a woman, I feel further that they should invariably be paid direct to the mother, a regulation which, in deference to paternal susceptibilities, is only slowly being adopted in France. The Confédération Générale du Travail and the federations of workers in various industries have, on many recent occasions, pronounced themselves definitely in favour of placing the whole organisation of *allocations familiales* under State control. Miss Rathbone relates (*The Disinherited Family*, p. 213) that at the annual conference of the C. G. T. in 1923 a long resolution was passed, declaring that "the service of family allowances, premiums at birth, and allowances to nursing mothers should be under the control of the State (*la collectivité*), managed by officially appointed committees, including representatives of the various interests concerned, and financed by compulsory contributions from employers and by subsidies from the public purse. The allowances should be completely separated from the question of labour, and should not be affected by its fluctuations, or by unemployment or illness."

Other leading Trade Union officials have declared that (p. 214): "In its existing form the institution of family allowances is aimed at undermining the freedom of the worker"; and again, that as "it could not be destroyed without inconvenience, only one course remains open: to transform it by amending and perfecting it."

The employers, on the other hand, seem anxious to leave things as they are. They deprecate State control in any form; they protest against any enforced uniformity of method; they fear increased cost of administration and higher rates of contribution, which remain, with the exception of the Roubaix *Caisse*, at the very moderate sum of 2 per cent. of the wages bill. In a word, like employers all over the world, they are opposed to any

measures likely to lead to interference with their liberty of action in the industrial sphere.

An objection to the system that suggests itself to most people is that the unmarried men would resent it. In practice this has not proved to be the case, although reports from Germany mention the point as one of the difficulties to be contended with. In point of fact the majority of men of the working class not only marry, but marry young, and would therefore look forward to enjoying the advantages of the plan at no distant date. Moreover, nowhere has it been deemed necessary to cut down the basic wage of the industry, although admittedly it has sometimes happened that a *caisse de compensation* has been started by the employer in lieu of a general rise in wages asked for. It may also surely be argued with some reason that for a young unmarried man to be able for a brief period to spend on himself the wage which later on will have to suffice for a wife and several children in addition, is merely to encourage him to acquire tastes and habits which later on poverty will compel him to give up.

A more difficult question as far as France is concerned, or indeed any country where agriculture is still the staple industry, is how best to apply the scheme to agricultural workers. Already it has been suggested in France that one reason why young people flock to the towns in ever-increasing numbers is that the urban worker enjoys the advantages of family allowances. We gather from Miss Rathbone's pages that so far only three rural *Caisses* have been formed. Two of them assess their members according to the number of *hectares* of land they possess, and the third on the number of hands employed. But the problem of the peasant proprietor still remains, and unless he can be brought into the scheme it is obvious that no very great progress can be made in rural districts.

It must not for a moment be imagined that family allowances are confined to France, the land of their birth.

They are spreading rapidly in Belgium, more especially in the mining districts, on lines very similar to those in France, and are warmly supported by the Catholic Trade Unions. Already 280,000 workers are covered by the allowances.[1] It is worth noting that a very important *Caisse* at Liège, on a regional basis, has adopted the excellent plan of sending the allowances monthly, by post, direct to the mother. In Germany the system is now firmly established in all important industries, more especially in mines, textiles and engineering, and allowances are also often paid by individual employers. In addition, they are compulsory in all public and municipal services. This is also true of Austria, but there the allowances are on a very small scale. At Geneva a number of Catholic manufacturers have recently organised the system in their works, and they profess themselves delighted with the results, and maintain that the plan makes for stability and contentment among the workers. In Holland and the Scandinavian countries the system is steadily making its way; indeed the only countries in Europe where it has not yet penetrated are Italy, Spain, Portugal, Russia—and Great Britain and Ireland.

In England the atmosphere of the moment does not appear favourable to the innovation. The Trade Unions, in so far as they have grasped it at all, are both suspicious and scornful. Unemployment, the heart-breaking problem of the last four years, would be unalleviated by it. Moreover, the country has been so swept by birth-control propaganda and is so alarmed at the number of its children, in conjunction with the lack of work and the acute housing shortage, that anything that may be supposed likely to favour large families is looked at askance, even by the very women who, one would have imagined, would have been the first to welcome the proposals. It is organised labour that would normally profit by the scheme,

[1] See "Foreign and Colonial Experiments in Family Allowances." By Olive Vlasto. 1925. Price 3d.

and it is precisely in the ranks of organised labour that small families are becoming the rule.

In her warm advocacy of Family Endowment, Miss Rathbone has dwelt, to the British public, mainly on its advantages as a possible solution of the prevailing industrial unrest. Wages have fallen in the last four years down to or even below a pre-war level, and the men clamour for a higher standard of living. On the other hand, employers maintain that with the existing stagnation of trade even the present rates are higher than the industries can afford. Hence strikes and rumours of strikes and a prevailing sense of industrial insecurity which helps to perpetuate the very conditions from which it is essential to escape with all possible speed. Without entering into any controversy as to the proportion wages should bear to the total product of industry, Miss Rathbone asks the pertinent question whether the amount actually available is being distributed in the most economical and effective manner. We are all agreed, she points out, on the need for a "living wage" for men employed in industry, and by degrees a living wage has come to mean by common consent a sum equal to the support of an "average" family of five persons, *i.e.*, father, mother, and three children. And we all talk loosely as though, in nine cases out of ten, such were indeed the case. But what are the facts? Taking the census figures of 1921, Miss Rathbone is able to establish—and her deductions remain unchallenged—the following startling statistics concerning men over twenty in England and Wales :—

26.6 p. cent. are bachelors.
39 p. cent. are married, or widowers with no dependant children.
15 p. cent. have one dependant child.
10.5 p. cent. have two dependant children.
6.2 p. cent. have three dependant children.
6.7 p. cent. have four or more dependant children.[1]

[1] See *Wages Plus Family Allowances* (March, 1925), 50 Romney St., London, S.W.1. Price 2d.

Thus the truth is that the "average" family theory of wage-paying only fits about 6 per cent. of the workers and their homes. For whereas 65 per cent. enjoy an income, not indeed of excessive amount, but yet above what is strictly necessary, over 12 per cent. of the families, and these with $1\frac{1}{2}$ million children between them, are living in a state of poverty which not only inflicts much misery, but reacts lamentably on the health and capacity of all concerned. Yet in order to provide a decent maintenance for these children and their mothers, is it really necessary to increase the already adequate wage—comparatively speaking—of all the bachelors and childless families? Miss Rathbone comes to the conclusion that such a method would not only be in the highest degree uneconomical, but that it is "unachievable out of the present national income."

Miss Rathbone's argument is so clear and her logic so unassailable that she makes instant converts of many readers. Yet the fact remains that for various reasons, as far as England is concerned, the question is still an academic one, outside the purview of Parliament and untouched by any political party. Moreover, the method of working Family Endowment that Miss Rathbone now appears to favour, *i.e.*, by a great extension of Compulsory Contributory Insurance, is not likely, in my opinion, to bring about its early acceptance. Such a scheme would be very expensive and vastly unpopular with many people. In any case there appears for the present to be no likelihood of any experiments in Family Endowment being made in England.

The question I would rather put tentatively is whether a reform with so Catholic an origin and with all the prestige of a real success in France, might not commend itself more quickly to the Irish people? With low wages, and large families, and fewer Trade Union restrictions than in England, the Irish worker would surely welcome an innovation which unquestionably goes a long way to

build up family life while making for industrial peace and stability. As in France, experiments might be made piecemeal and the details worked out to suit national needs. The post-office, the railways and the Civil Service generally all offer favourable fields for experiment. Incidentally Family Allowances provide an easy—and perhaps the only—solution of the difficult sex-problem of "equal pay for equal work." The solution has already been adopted in Holland, where certificated teachers, male and female, receive similar pay according to their class, supplemented for all married teachers by an allowance for each dependant child equal to 3 per cent. of the salary enjoyed. The plan is said to work well, although the allowances appear inadequate, and it does remove a standing bone of contention between men and women teachers in all countries. For all these reasons the scheme, surely, is worthy the fullest consideration.[1]

VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD.

[1] Apart from Miss Rathbone's standard work, *The Disinherited Family*, the Family Endowment Council, 50 Romney Street, London, S.W.1., issues valuable pamphlets and leaflets at small cost bearing on the whole subject, and is always pleased to supply information.

THE RETURN OF THE MIDDLE AGES

BY PROFESSOR ARTHUR E. CLERY, LL.D.

THE age in which we live is usually spoken of as an age of reading. All important people can read and write; and the efforts of the time have been directed to enabling unimportant people to read, though in England at least—and it was also the case in Germany—cultural education, the education that "makes a man a gentleman," is still a close preserve and is, in fact, with increasing prices, becoming, if anything, a closer preserve. All this is in very great contrast to the Middle Ages, where people as important as Richard I or King John could not sign their names. In those days reading and writing were the mark of the clergy. They held, in fact, pretty much the same place in the economy of things as typewriting and shorthand do now—they were the function of a special class, and the ordinary layman at best dabbled in them incompetently.

The cult of reading, as a layman's business, is now some four centuries old, and it has had very important results. One of the most striking was the Protestant heresy, which was evidently a direct outcome of it. Its function in enabling governments and financiers (in the last analysis the same thing) to sway opinions by the press has also been extremely important. No demagogue ever had such a power over his audience as has the modern financier, when he orders a paper or, more commonly, a syndicate of papers, to advocate a particular cause or to lead people to forget something. A war is perhaps the least of the results he can bring about. Hence the modern policy of giving people in general sufficient education to read the press, but no further.

Again, the influence of reading has had a third most important result. Reading has inevitably meant school.

Young people are taken away from the control of their parents at an increasingly early age and sent to school so that they may learn to read, write, and do figures—in English-speaking countries both the spelling and the system of measures involving wholly unnecessary difficulties. They scarce ever come under the control of their parents again. And the difference between boarding and day-schools is no more than this : whether a parent is responsible for the upbringing of children for a few hours in the day or a few weeks in the year. Before reading had become a necessary of existence for laymen, the child was brought up by his parents, and found the apprenticeship to his father a far more interesting pursuit than the many hours devoted to the spelling book or to doing compound multiplication.

It is a little hard for us to realise how pleasant life was for these who did not need to go to school—that is, the whole lay population. Those farmers' sons who "mitch" come nearest to it in our time ; and they are ever the heart-break of educational reformers. And remember that this was not only the condition of the peasant's son, but of the prince's. High and low, each man had his father for his schoolmaster in the useful arts of life, or else he had his foster-father. Fosterage seems to have been an early effort of the parent to avoid his duties ; it found its parallel in the foster-mother in the days before feeding-bottles. The young knight was instructed in becoming feats of arms and the more useful details of husbandry. What the Renascence brought about was to give laymen the education intended for a cleric, with all its disadvantages. The introduction of reading as a general discipline, with school as its inevitable consequence, meant that the man whose business in life was to found a home was now to share in the special training hitherto reserved for those who were not to found homes, but to serve a higher purpose. And this system has been extending ever since, especially in the

last century. So widespread has the system become that I know only one person (and he occupies a very high position indeed) whose fate it was never to be sent to school. The late Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington was another example of a man educated wholly by his parent.

But the idea of letting a person grow up without knowing how to read and write is ridiculous. Of course it is, as long as the very exaggerated value is attached to reading and writing, and, I may add, simple arithmetic, which the last three or four centuries have given to them. They have not been particularly pleasant or great centuries. The European war, to take but one example, was a calamity for which no other century shows a parallel. And everything tends to show that it is a calamity that one of these days—perhaps at a fairly early day—will be repeated and possibly intensified. The centuries since the Renascence have been centuries in which a larger number of human beings have been left without food and without faith than any preceding ones since the coming of Christianity.

But it commonly happens that any tendency reaches a wave-crest, as it were, and after that breaks. There is much to show that the wave of reading taught in schools has already reached its crest. Open any paper now, *The Times* of London for instance, and you will see a page devoted to pictures. Some of the most widely "read" papers are almost wholly given in pictures, the majority of readers scarcely glancing at the letterpress. This tendency is bound to increase enormously, for the letterpress itself has less and less of literary value or interest, being mainly a matter of headlines and snappy phrases. Remember that this development is less than thirty years old, and yet the tendency is already a strong one.

Then there are "The Pictures." A great part of humanity, especially the younger part, takes its news, and indeed its information about everything, from this

source. Yet moving pictures are still in their early youth. It is some twenty years since James Joyce came to establish the first picture-house in Dublin. To-day the pictures have come to take the place of printed matter in the lives of an extraordinary number of people. No doubt "the Pictures" still contain a great deal of print that can eventually be eliminated, and to some extent is being eliminated already. For propaganda purposes matter conveyed through the "pictures" is already almost as important as matter conveyed through the press—a fact of which the capitalist is probably aware by this time.

But if the pictures are in early youth, broadcasting is in complete infancy. And yet the results of the last general election were received by the electors on broadcasting sets for the most part. The effect when every home shall have a broadcasting set, to tell it the news (properly adulterated) at all hours, will be to render even the press a thing effete. Teaching lessons by broadcast is so far rather of a make-believe. But a time may come when it will be a serious proposition in the study of languages. I have not touched upon tele-vision so far. But the day is probably not distant when a man sitting in his own flat will be able to enjoy the pictures in colours and possibly to have speech associated with the pictures, so that, for instance, an opera or a play can be reproduced, as it is, by some mechanical device. In fact, the possibilities of reproduction at a distance probably surpass anything to which our present imaginations extend. The effects upon humanity of being brought so close one to the other must be very great. A common Church and a common language are in sight. Many of these manifestations will no doubt be undesirable, as are many of them at present. But I am not dealing with the present time.

What is important in all these developments, except in a limited degree "pictures," is that they are independent of reading and even hostile to it. You can go to the pictures

without being able to read, and of course you can " listen in." The dictaphone will also come very largely to take the place of the reporter, for it is a reporter that cannot easily lie. And when the preservation of the spoken word is needed, it has evident advantages over every form of writing, especially as it can or soon will be available as a record of telephone communications which at present form so large a part of business.

But mathematics still remain. It will still be necessary to send boys to school to learn the third R. Will it ? Of course those, like engineers, who require higher mathematics for the practical business of life will have to go. They are a special class, like clerical students. No machine will teach Euclid, for instance—already given up, by the way. In those walks of life, and they are very few, where a mathematical training beyond that of the three R's is necessary such mathematical training must still be imparted in schools. Engineers and the like, a special class like the clergy of the middle ages, must have their education apart. But surely humanity will one day come to realise that it is a waste of time to teach boys to carry out operations by laborious methods that can even at present be carried out equally as well by a machine. For a few years this thing may go on, but one of these days each lay boy, instead of receiving a compulsory education in the three R's, will save up to buy a " Ford " calculating machine—or whatever firm can make a standard machine at a cheap price—and will no more think of doing sums in long division than at present any one would think of working out for himself, as Napier did, the mathematical results he could find in a book of logarithms. A time is coming, and coming fairly soon when the three R's at any rate will make their disappearance from life, both for high and low.

Whether secondary education in languages and similar matters shall continue as it is at present is a very doubtful matter. The two or three languages over which boys at

present stumble, at any rate, could be learned much more efficiently by broadcasting methods, if indeed the teaching of languages—seldom used afterwards—is not greatly overdone in our educational systems. Possibly "Esperanto" or some other world language will by that time have been generally adopted by the Broadcasters and Picture-makers; this, however, is a moot point.

Prophecy is proverbially difficult. The next war, for instance, might bring us back to barbarism with a rush. But if we continue to develop on present lines, some such result as that here sketched out seems at least extremely likely to come about. For the mass of humanity (high and low) reading will be relegated to the position it held in the middle ages. Elementary mathematics will be done by machines. This will free all save certain very special classes from what it is at present, an intolerable drudgery, leading to insufficient results and only submitted to because it is inflicted on the young at an age when they cannot resist. Once reading and arithmetic go, school goes with them, and the boy is handed back to the education of his parents, each man bringing about his son, or foster-son, as his apprentice. There is scarcely a single boy who would not vote for such a system, if he knew that his future was not prejudiced thereby. Nine boys out of ten detest school. No doubt, in the case of engineers and clergymen such a system is impossible; in the case of doctors and lawyers it is at least doubtful. But in the case of politicians, business men, nobles and all other ranks of the community it is entirely feasible. Nay, even the journalist of the future will be the man who can best dictate into a broadcasting machine.

The student may regret his books—he will have to be content with dictaphone records—but the poems of Homer and the plays of Shakspere will once again be delivered orally as they were originally.[1] Such a period should be

N.B.—[1] The reader will remember *Wells* foretelling this in "when The Sleeper Awakes"—nearly Twenty Years ago.

a period of great dramatic production. It is to be regretted that the invention of pictures did not come about at the Renascence. If only you had Michael Angelo designing "pictures," they would have beed beautiful things. And remember that plays had very much the same position in Shakspere's time, even in the expectation of indecency, that the pictures have in ours. A combination of horrors and obscenity was looked for; but a lucky accident bred a man of supreme genius at the work, who could produce beauty to the accompaniment of the horrors and the obscenity. It is quite possible that the literature of the future, though delivered orally, like so much Irish literature, will surpass the written literature of the present day. But this is enough of prophecy for one article.

Arthur E. Clery.

HOMER FROM TWO POINTS OF VIEW[1]

BY PROFESSOR MICHAEL TIERNEY, M.A.

"THE Homeric question," says Paul Cauer, "regarded as the type of a problem in method, is everlasting." Since the beginning of the Great War many new books have been written about it, and many old ones re-edited. Yet this study, which can claim to have given to the world the whole technique of the Higher Criticism, though in many ways clarified and brought to a point during recent years, still poses the same unanswered question. It has given rise to a wealth of hypotheses, analyses, and conclusions apparently final, since Wolf wrote his *Prolegomena*; but new ones continue yearly to appear, and as we write the *Odyssey* is being subjected by M. Bérard to perhaps the most original of all its editings. Like most perennial problems, that of the Homeric poems did not remain unaffected by the war. Indeed, it looked for a moment as if it was likely to give birth to a young problem, and as if the Wolfian authorship of the *Prolegomena* was itself destined to become the sport of the Higher Criticism. For M. Bérard, urged on by Ares, would have robbed Wolf of his questionable crown and set it on the head of a Frenchman, D'Aubignac, whose posthumous and obscure *Conjectures Académiques* had seen the light a century before Wolf wrote, and had already cast doubts upon the unity of the *Iliad*. Fortunately M. Bérard had been anticipated (who is not?) by a German. Dr. Finsler, even before the war, had admitted the priority of D'Aubignac, and German scholars were willing enough to give the Frenchman his due. But what has been called M. Bérard's "Kriegspsychose" was

[1] *Homer: The Origins and the Transmission.* By T. W. Allen.
The Rise of the Greek Epic. By Professor Gilbert Murray. 3rd Edition.
Oxford: Clarendon Press; London: Milford. 1924. 18*s.* and 14*s.* respectively.

not peculiar to him. It is shared in some measure by Mr. Allen, author of one of the books before us. He concludes an unfortunate preface to a sound book by a vehement attack on German scholarship, and shows that even in 1923 he could not forget the propaganda of 1914. After all, the Germans may have written many wild things about Homer, but almost all nations can make that boast, and England can give Germany a Paley for her Bethe and a Leaf for her Dümmler.

But though the Trojan plain very nearly became one of the battlegrounds of the Great War, yet, on the whole, Homeric controversy has grown peaceful and has gradually tended towards a position in which even a certain amount of fraternisation between the opposing ranks has become possible. The so-called "Unitarian" movement, of which Andrew Lang was long the sole gallant champion, has grown steadily in strength since before the war. Its growth has helped to create a saner atmosphere and has done much to end the wilder vagaries of the analytic method. Whereas about 1900 there was almost universal acceptance of the doctrine, so well established that it could call itself a tradition, which held the *Iliad* to be a patchwork "evolved," in the fashionable jargon, during many centuries, at the present day a large and growing number of scholars believe that both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were the work of one great poet, and reached something like their present form in his lifetime, to which we can assign an approximate date. These new believers have recently been joined by a notable recruit in the person of Professor Bury. In his *History of Greece*, published first in 1900, he sadly muddled many a young head with "Faded Gods," "Sagenverschiebungen," and other phantasms of the learned. He has made graceful amends in the second volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History* (1924), in which two chapters from his hand give an eminently sane account of the Homeric question from the historical and the literary side.

Mr. Allen is probably the most pugnacious leader in the cause to which Professor Bury has given his tardy but welcome allegiance. But he has a few other gallant allies, and even in his own despite must acknowledge that the Germans are not all steeped in unreason; indeed some of them are rather unreasonably on his side. Perhaps the most readable of all the Unitarians is an American scholar, Prof. Scott, whose *Unity of Homer* (1921) was an almost painful exposure of the silliness into which the analytic method has led some of its exponents, including even the great Wilamowitz. Another doughty fighter is a Scotchman, Mr. Shewan, who as long ago as 1911 took up arms in defence of the long-suffering *Lay of Dolon*, and has since contributed to the clearing up of many artificially-made puzzles, notably that of the location of Ithaca. In Germany Drerup out-Allens Mr. Allen, and has written an enormous work (*Homerische Poetik*, Vol. 1, 1921) in criticism of previous views. Another German defender of unity is Rothe, whose work dates from just before the war. All this, and much more on like lines, has tended to redress the balance in favour of views which can be more readily shared by the ordinary mortal, and belief in a single Homer is spreading slowly but surely. Yet the "evolutionist" school, though somewhat on the defensive, holds out gallantly, and can number among its leaders the late Dr. Cauer, author of probably the best Homeric handbook; Wilamowitz, whose *Ilias und Homer* (1916), occupies a peculiarly isolated position; and in England Prof. Gilbert Murray, the third edition of whose fascinating *Rise of the Greek Epic* is still true to the early beliefs of its author. Lastly, there is Dr. Walter Leaf, whose great edition of the *Iliad* was almost a *reductio ad absurdum* of the method which tried by analysis to distinguish between early and late in the poem, and whose present position is rather a sad one. In his *Troy* (1912) he laid every Homeric scholar under his debt, and showed conclusively that the geographical

background of the *Iliad* was real. In his *Homer and History* (1915) he tried to do the same for the historical background, but, because he would not abandon his "separatist" theories, secured acceptance from neither side, and now seems to wander disconsolate between the lines, scoffed at alike by Mr. Allen and Professor Murray.

The two books which lie before us look at the ancient controversy from the two opposing standpoints, and may perhaps allow us to examine into what is most novel on both sides. It is scarcely possible even for a specialist to read all that is written in every language about Homer; but these two books sum up the best of it with but small exception. Of the two Mr. Allen may be said to be the more individual and original, while Professor Murray is the more readable but somewhat more vague, and has much less claim to have worked out his views for himself. Mr. Allen's book is a rehandling of various articles long familiar; it bristles with formidable lists of authorities and long quotations; he disclaims literary grace, and one must sorrowfully admit that he is right in doing so. Yet if one reads his book and consults with it his other work, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships* (1921), one has a very complete and reasonable presentation of a reasonable theory; whereas when one has finished Professor Murray, one feels that he has been fascinating, but still one must ask despairingly—how did it all come to pass? The Unitarian operates with real men and with events that at least have happened elsewhere; the Separatist with strange things like Faded Gods, projections of the Group-Mind, transferences of legend, and vague agencies which, however cleverly presented, have little of human logic about them. Of course, it must be clearly understood that Mr. Allen should not be taken to have completely proved his case. In the very nature of the Homeric problem we have to choose between the less and the more probable, and must do so until perhaps the Hittite or the Cretan archives have let loose upon our unfortunate

heads a flood of contemporary documents in six or eight new languages. Meanwhile we can only say that Mr. Allen gives us something that might be fact, Professor Murray something that seems to transcend fact altogether.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty about the Homeric question is that it is not one question, but two—the question whether the poems were written by one poet at one time, and the question whether they give us a poetical account of a historical event. In spite of Professor Murray's belief that the latter question cuts across the former, and in spite of Dr. Leaf's feat in taking up a negative attitude towards the first and a positive towards the second, it still remains true that logically both questions must be answered in the same way. If the Homeric poems "grew" during several centuries, the possibility of their giving any sort of real picture (whether poetical or not) of one event is very slight; if they give, not a picture of one event, but a variety of pictures covering many different centuries from the thirteenth to the sixth, then it is hard to see how they could be the work of one poet. In fact, both literary critics and archaeologists in general do take up a like attitude to both questions; they are either for or against both unity and historicity, rarely for one and against the other. It is convenient to treat the two questions separately, but there is an intimate connection between them.

To discuss the second question first: it has been given a new actuality in recent times by the great archaeological discoveries in Mycenae, Troy, and Crete, which have opened up a real historical period long anterior to the classical, and have shown that at least the places mentioned by Homer must have been great centres of culture during the Bronze Age and past its end. These discoveries, in fact, have given the first impetus to the recovery of belief in the unity of Homeric authorship, by showing that later Greek legends of the ages before the first Olympiad had

some general background of truth, and that it was not intrinsically unlikely that great wars should have been fought and great poems written at so early a date. In particular, the story told in the *Iliad*, with all its difficulties and obscurities, dealt after all not with purely unreal legends, but corresponds in a general way to the story which archaeologists might construct for themselves if they had only the results of their excavations to build upon. And the literary evidence of Homer has been helped out by further literary evidence from Egyptian temple-records, which give a picture of the Aegaean world in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries in just such a turmoil as Homer depicts for us. How far all this evidence can be used for reconstruction has been shown by Messrs. Myres and Frost in an article on "The Historical Background of the Trojan War," in *Klio* for 1914. Unfortunately no archaeologist has as yet written a book on this aspect of the subject; Mr. Wace, a foremost authority, has promised one, and meanwhile his conclusions have been used by Mr. Allen.

The latter gives us in his two books a clear picture of the most probable reconstruction, based partly on Homer, partly on later tradition, and partly on archaeology. Greece, originally inhabited by some non-Greek people which gave their names to places like Corinth and Tiryns, was settled about 2000 B.C. by Greek-speaking people from the North. From 3000 to about 1600 B.C. a great bronze-using civilisation was developing in Crete and spreading its power over the Aegaean islands. About 1600, colonists from Crete (who probably spoke, not Greek, but a primitive Mediterranean tongue from which Greek and Latin got their words for the vine and the olive) began to settle in various parts of Greece. They built great castles at Mycenae and Tiryns and in Boeotia, subjected the mixed native population, and extended their power northward to the plains of Thessaly. Their name for themselves was Achaioi, and from a word

meaning " mainland " their Cretan kinsmen called them Argeioi. They mixed with the native races as the Normans did with the Gael in Ireland, and gradually adopted the Greek language in a form which became a common dialect for all of them. They developed the Cretan type of civilisation on Greek soil ; somewhere about 1350 Cnossos was destroyed and lost its dominating position, and the centre of gravity shifted to the Peloponnese, where a single monarch ruling from Mycenae became the head of a hegemony covering all the continental centres and many of the islands. Finally a great confederacy of Aegaean powers, including apparently Trojans, joined in an attack on Egypt, which was disastrously defeated ; thereafter a dispute arose among the allies, possibly, as Homer and Greek legend say, because a Trojan prince carried off the wife of the king who ruled over Sparta by right of his marriage with her. To recover his lost " title-deed," as Prof. Myres calls Helen, the Achaean confederacy launched the great attack on Troy of which the *Iliad* gives us one incident, and which the lost cyclic poems afterwards described at length. Whether economic motives played a part also in this attack cannot be known. The result of this war was the destruction of Troy, a destruction of which its ruins give proof even yet. But the victors were shortly overwhelmed by an invasion of fresh Greek-speaking tribes from the North ; Mycenae and Tiryns and the nameless Boeotian fortress fell, the Iron Age began, and with it the earliest diaspora of Greek colonists, who founded cities across the Aegaean, and brought to their new homes much of their ancient art and the songs they had sung about the deeds of their late Achaean masters.

Such is the historical framework into which Mr. Allen fits the *Iliad*. Perhaps its most original feature is the conception that the Achaeans were not Greek-speaking invaders from the North, as even Professor Bury guardedly supposes, and as most scholars have

believed for the last thirty years, but rulers of Cretan and Aegaean origin. This conception, shared by Mr. Wace and suggested by him in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, seems to put the whole historical position of Bronze Age Greece in a clearer light and to account for many difficulties previously insoluble. Professor Murray holds to the theory which made the Achaeans northeners, and in general adopts an attitude towards Greek tradition which is far too sceptical, while accepting the wildest notions in a direction contrary to it. He is not altogether fair in his method; in one place, using a well-known difficulty, involved by a reference in Thucydides to the Boeotians, in order to cast doubts on any possible reconstruction of early history, he divides Thucydides' statement into two parts; one part he presses for his own argument, and calls "Thucydides"; the other, which is against him, he calls "old historians," as if to minimise its value by a vague and depreciatory phrase. To him Helen is only a goddess, Agamemnon—an idea exploded long ago—is "Zeus-Agamemnon," Achilles is a "Kouros" (*i.e.*, the projection of a totem-group, in which Prof. Murray rather specialises), Odysseus and Penelope are the Sun and Moon. Finally, in spite of his caution with Thucydides, he follows Dümmler in accepting some very late and uncertain evidence to prove that Hector was a Theban god—a theory with which Professor Scott has dealt scathingly in the book mentioned above. Now, Hector may indeed never have existed at all; he may, as Professor Scott himself thinks, be an invention by the poet; in any case, using theories about his origin as a proof that there never was a siege of Troy is only confusing matters. In order to establish the reality of the historical background to Homer, we need not necessarily believe in the human existence of any of Homer's heroes; all that is required of us is to demonstrate their *possibility*. Mr. Allen has some useful reflections on the peculiar habit of mind which sees beyond the seventh century B.C., not

human beings and human actions, but a phantasmagoria of fading gods, bloody rites, heraldic ancestors, and "projections." It is easier after all for even the most hardened sceptic to believe in a choleric prince than in a Year-Daimon.

Professor Murray's attitude, in a more reasoned form, is also that of Cauer, who accepts the siege of Troy but refuses to admit of any connection between it and the *Iliad*, and makes the latter embody very largely legends which grew up around Thebes in Greece and were long afterwards transferred (*verschoben*) to Troy. He accepts Dümmler's Hector-hypothesis as part of this explanation, which in its origin is due to Dr. Erich Bethe. Wilamowitz also, while of course admitting the siege, will allow it little to do with the *Iliad*. The figures of Homer are connected with any fugitive scrap of a rumour coming from a scholion rather than with the poem which first made them known. They are again gods or about to become gods, or have just ceased to be gods; but it would be an insult to intelligence to take the poet's word for them. A theory that the poems "grew" during a long period must be maintained, and to suit it, everything in them must be made as vague as possible.

We come now to the conflicting accounts of how the poems originated. It is here that Mr. Allen is most at home, and can speak with most authority; and a great deal of what he says is his own original work. He thinks that there was in existence practically from the time of the Trojan War itself a body of tradition which gave a complete account of it. This body of tradition, older than both the Cyclic Poets and Homer, he considers may be represented fairly faithfully in the Latin prose-work that goes by the name of Dictys of Crete; a fragment of a Greek version has recently come to light on a papyrus. There were other versions also, going under different names, Dares of Phrygia, Corinnus, Sisyphus, all giving various versions of the story of Troy, and all purporting

to be by contemporaries of the war. By a minute analysis and comparison with Homer, Mr. Allen shows good grounds for using Dictys as representative of the original tradition upon which Homer drew. Homer, probably a native of Chios in the early part of the tenth century, chose out one incident from this tradition, elaborated it enormously, using especially the machinery provided by Divine intervention and first introduced by him, for the purpose of delaying the action of the poem and allowing the insignificant feud of Agamemnon and Achilles to be made the vehicle of the most splendid dramatic representation of character. Poverty in the description of action and in the construction of plot was made up for by this êthos, by qualities which are rather rhetorical and dramatic than narrative. Mr. Allen quotes a well-known criticism from Aristotle's *Poetics*, which supports his own view in a most remarkable way. He insists on the unity of construction in the poem, and gives us an example of very sound and fruitful analysis in what is perhaps his best chapter. If the acceptance of Dictys of Crete did nothing else but allow of this analysis, it would be worth while. The *Odyssey*, he thinks, was an elaboration by Homer of another part of the same tradition, with the same kind of poetical economy. The two poems were handed on by the Homeridae (who perhaps added the last book to the *Odyssey*), a guild calling itself a family, which kept them intact down perhaps even to the fifth century. Probably about the date of the first Olympiad (776 B.C.) a succession of poets arose, who proceeded to turn into epic these parts of the tradition not used by Homer, and created the Epic cycle. At some uncertain period the poems were introduced into old Greece from Ionia; they were recited officially at the Panathenaea from some date in the sixth century, but Pisistratus had no influence on their form. The Athenian book-trade established a kind of vulgate Homer, but side by side with it there existed other editions, each, like the Athenian, affected as to

certain minor points of language by the dialect of the town where it was in use, but all containing the same poems. Finally, the Alexandrian Library made a collection of all these editions, and the great scholars began their work on Homer, which has come down to us in the Scholia, but had little or no influence on the vulgate text. That text is substantially our text, differing only from the original tenth-century Homer in points of language which have analogies in the transmission of books from sixteenth century England to the present day.

In Mr. Allen's analysis of Homer, by comparing the *Iliad* with Dictys of Crete, he is able to show with some plausibility what part of the poem may be considered original and what part was poetic invention. In this connection, his book on the Catalogue had made a beginning. In it he gave reason to think that the famous Catalogue called Boiotia, given in Book 2, is based upon an older document than Homer, which gives some idea of the state of the Achaean kingdoms at the time of the Trojan War. That document may quite possibly have been some sort of quasi-legal list. Here he is in sharp conflict with Dr. Leaf, who thinks the Catalogue later than Homer. The dispute turns partly on the position of Boeotia in the Catalogue, on the relation of Corinth to Agamemnon's kingdom, and on the gathering of the Greek fleet at Aulis. Mr. Allen has made a convincing case in favour of his contention, and seems notably to have won the battle of Corinth, which he thinks was the centre of Agememnon's realm in the whole *Iliad*, and Mycenae only an outpost towards the Argos of Diomedes. He seems to have made his case that the Catalogue is an organic part of the *Iliad*, written for its present place and agreeing with the rest of the poem, not a later intrusion, as Leaf thinks. There is one point on which Mr. Allen has not taken up a definite position, and it is an interesting one. In 1912 Sir Arthur Evans discussed the possibility that there might have existed poems in the pre-Greek language

recounting the deeds of the Achaean and Cretan lords. Now K. Meister (*Homerische Kunstsprache*, 1921), and later A. Meillet (*Origine Indo-européenne des Metres grecs*, 1923) have arrived at the conclusion that the Homeric Hexameter owes its manifold peculiarities to the fact that just as it was later taken over in Latin from Greek, so it was, before Homer, taken over by Greek from some non-Aryan language. This theory, offering as it does a fascinating solution of many puzzles, is particularly interesting if taken in connection with the change from the songs in which epic verse was originally sung to the recitative which was the natural rendering of the hexameter. Wilamowitz once suggested that the real Homer was the first who took this step. Mr. Allen does not advert to all this, though emphasising sufficiently the probability that Homer was really the great originator in epic in that he first composed a long poem for recitation.

All this is, of course, really not a matter of proof, but of probability. We can have no certainty on these matters. But in most points of his theory Mr. Allen seems to us to have secured the balance of probability, while even where his case is weaker he has made most interesting suggestions. His proof seems to be strongest in the case of the relations of Homer to Hesiod and the Cycle, and of the preservation of the Homeric tradition. He has put it beyond reasonable doubt that the Cycle presupposes Homer and that Hesiod was inspired by him; and he has given a clear account of the fortunes of the text which leaves hardly any criticism unanswered. In his denial of all influence to Pisistratus he finds himself for once in agreement with Wilamowitz, who himself puts the completion of the poems prior to the sixth century. Above all, Mr. Allen has definitely parted company with the dreary hunt for supposed inconsistencies in the *Iliad*, which has led to practically every line being regarded as later than every other line, and has filled text-books with stupid and often erroneous

statistics such as those so triumphantly shown up by Prof. Scott. Again, Mr. Allen has developed a new and most valuable kind of Homeric analysis—already exemplified by Drerup and Mr. Sheppard—which seeks for the points in which the poet is really original, and thus enables us to exercise a critical judgment on his poetry as such.

When we turn back from Mr. Allen to Professor Murray, we are met by a much less convincing picture. Professor Murray finds the origin of the poems not in a person or even a number of persons, but, like Cauer and others, in the vague evolution of a period filled with sociological imaginations, and supposes that they were handed on by an agency less tangible than human, "growing" as they went, written down at a late period, collected from some vague state of dispersion by Pisistratus or somebody, and subject to very great changes, additions and expurgations till late in the fifth century B.C. For all this he finds an analogy in the Bible, and proceeds to swallow at second-hand all the theories of the Higher Critics as if they were firmly established fact. Homeric study, which imported aberrations into Biblical criticism, receives them back at his hands with interest. It is instructive to read his sketch of Homer's relation to the Cycle—much better written than Mr. Allen's chapter, but far vaguer and more conjectural; or his chapters on "expurgation," in which he proves that because certain dreadful tales are told in Hesiod or Aeschylus or Pausanias, but not in Homer, therefore they were in Homer but were expurgated out of him—not by any person, but by the Ionian mind. A great historian once said—"History is made by men." Poetry is also made by men, and not by emanations or projections or periods. This is exactly where, for all his brilliancy of style and all his learning, Professor Murray falls behind Mr. Allen, who is rugged indeed, but who knows a man when he sees one.

At the origin of the poems, too, Professor Murray is weak. He will not admit even as much as the "Wrath"

to begin with, but starts off his *Iliad* with a congeries of disparate motives, for whose joining together he gives no really clear account; and he fails, of course, altogether to see any design or pattern in the *Iliad* as we now have it. One might grant a certain amount of change in the long transition from the eighth or ninth century to the end of the sixth; but in order to form a rational idea of change we must have a beginning and an end to the series. Professor Murray provides us with no real beginning and no real end; and all his school rest upon a basis of denying that the end is a whole, and refusing to admit the beginning. Some of them have sought, like Grote, for a rational nucleus; but no nucleus which does not suppose a rational poet can be rational, and all have failed. The latest attempt of all has been made by Wilamowitz, who sees at the beginning a poem which while it included most of our *Iliad*, ended with the death of Achilles. Here again, however, there is failure to understand the real nature of our present *Iliad*, and an assumption that changes in the plot of a poem could not be made by the poet himself, but must be the work of some "Bearbeiter." Mr. Allen is not unwilling—nor are many of those who believe in a single personal Homer—to agree that the poet might have worked over his material in many different moods, and that his work when finished might have undergone considerable changes in course of time. But in order to estimate these changes or to follow the mind of the poet, we must first admit his existence—and then study him as a *poet*. The best feature of the modern trend in Homeric criticism is that the study of Homer as a poet is being made once more possible.

MICHAEL TIERNEY.

UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS

XXX—Great Expectations

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, D.LITT.

THE author of this poem was Lochlainn Og O Dálaigh, a Clare poet who flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century. It was written in praise of three young members of the ruling family of Thomond. If I am right in identifying them, the first was Tadhg *an tsuasáin* (" of the long uncombed hair ") who died on a visit to Fermanagh in 1559 ; his father Domhnall is the subject of another ode by the poet. The second was Conchubhar (son of Donnchadh) who, to the horror of the Irish, accepted in 1558 the title of Earl of Thomond, with the English law of succession ; he died in 1580, at the age of forty-five. The third was Tadhg (†1577), son of that Murchadh (†1551) who was " styled Earl of Thomond by the English and the King," though to the Irish he was O'Brien of Thomond ; Tadhg died in his bed, contrary to men's expectation, for he had been a famous fighter. The poem may be dated about 1550. It is edited from the only copy known to me, in E. IV. 3 (R.I.A.), written in 1727. The text needs many emendations. Apart from obvious corrections of spelling , I give the MS. readings.

Lochlainn Og O Dálaigh cct.

1. Ionmhain triúr táinig dom fhios,
do sheinn oram tré áineas,
triúr do shíol shírshleachta Bloid,
líon mínleaptha[1] an triúr tánaig.

2. Do cheangal chonnartha leam
suidhid fá seach im thimcheall,
triúr goirmdhearcach gan ghlór searbh
an pór oirbheartach óigleanbh.

3. Fríoth dhamhsa urra ar gach aon,
do chionn molta na macaomh,
ón droing shaoir sheangmhálla shéimh,
budh laoidh deaghdhána dhóibhséin.

4. D'iath[2] ó dTáil budh ceann cloinne
Tadhg, sinnsear na saorchloinne,
ag foghlaim oinigh 'na dhiaidh,
oighir[3] Dhomhnaill uí dheighBhriain.

[1] lín ínleaptha. [2] O iath. [3] oighre.

5. Budh iad eolaigh fhóid Mhumhan
sluaigh ó gCais um Chonchubhar :
ó Dhia dá thairngire atám,[1]
nach bia ainbhfine[2] ar iomrádh.

6. An treas cnú don chrobhaing ghloin
Tadhg oile, oighre Mhurchaidh :
ag riar dámh an eoil[3] arsaidh
budh lán beoil an Brianachsoin.

7. Fán gCloinnse[4] Chais budh coill dín
trí beangáin a criaidh cheiníl :
ní bhí acht file dá bhfoghail,
na trí[5] bhile buantoraidh.

8. Trí seabhaic go séan seilge
ar lucht déanta díbhfeirge :
i mbáidh cheineoil,[6] i gcomhaois,
meireoin[7] áigh a haonfhoraois.

9. Trí beithreacha go mbuaidh gliadh
a los cosnaimh múir Mhaicniadh ;
na trí comthaigh dá chéile,
budh trí honchoin aigmhéile.

10. Trí hurchradha na n-eo bhfis,
trí sgealláin[8] ubhaill óirchnis,
trí bláthláin déanta ar ndána,
sgáthláin bréagtha bandála.

11. Trí húrchna[9] is uaisle mogail,
trí sreabha a haill fhíorthobair,
pór ríoghchraobh go rún bhféile,
súgh fíonchraobh na flaithréime.

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[1] tarrngaire atáim. [2] ainmhín. [3] eolaigh. [4] chloinnsi.
[5] slata (*sic*). [6] a ccosnamh (*sic*). [7] meann eoin. [8] sgilleain.
[9] hurchra.

12. I Leith Chuinn ag cur chatha
gearr go mbiaid a mbonnsacha,
don druing áigh[1] fhearchonta[2] mhir
'na ngáibh gealchorcra gaisgidh.

13. Trí comáin beartha an bháire
ar laochraidh fhóid fhionnMháighe
léigfid díobh ar dornchlaibh déad—
do shíol gCobhthaigh budh coimhéad.

14. Na hóigse ag tionól ré ar dtaoibh,
budh tréad míleadh na macaoimh;
each slaite ar bhreith gach Bhrianaigh
mar eich[3] aice óirshrianaigh.

15. Mar theinte[4] ó dteilgthear crithre,
lasas[5] a los aoindrithle,
an triar fán mBanbha mbántais,
damhna gliadh is gabháltais.

16. Beith ar dtús ní toibhéim air,
nós gnáth an ghlanóir uasail,
'na chaoir mholta mhianaigh thim,
sompla don Bhrianfhuil bhraithim.

17. Sé gealtaoibh chuanna mar chuip,
sé colpa céimeann n-ordhraic,
sé troighidh[6] bhus taca i n-ágh[7]
sé glaca an oinigh d'fhadádh.[8]

18. Sé gruaidhe nach iarr adhaint,[9]
sé mailldearca móramhairc,
ní dá n-aimhdheoin ní hiarrthar,
trí sainbheoil[10] go sídhbhriathraibh.

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[1] nár. [2] bhfearchonta. [3] each. [4] theinntibh. [5] lasfas.
[6] troighthe. [7] anáigh. [8] dfadáigh. [9] iarrfadh a nadhaint.
[10] seangbheoil.

19. Conchubhar taoibhgheal, dá Thadhg,
ag díol sgol, ag riar ríoghbhard,
ag soin an triar do thoghas
fám riar ní fhoil mh'amharas.

20. Go ndáile an Tríonóid don triar
ré fhada ar úir na naoimhchliar;
sgoith na bhfionnshluagh gan chleith[1] gcroidh,
bheith dá n-iomluadh is ionmhain.
Ionmhain.

[1] cheilt.

Translation

1. Dear are the three who have come to visit me, who have played upon me[1] in sport, three of the seed of Blod's lasting stock, the full of a smooth bed are the three who have come.
2. To bind a covenant with me they sit in turn around me, three blue-eyed ones with gentle voice, fresh young seedlings noble in act.
3. I have got a pledge for each of them to praise the lads, from the highborn company, graceful, modest and gentle: it will be to them an ode in good verse.
4. The head of the clan to the land of Tál's descendants will be Tadhg, the eldest of the nobles, heir of Domhnall the descendant of good Brian, and learning honour in his footsteps.
5. The hosts of the descendants of Cas around Conchubhar shall be leaders of Munster's land: I promise it from God—no outland stock shall be in repute.
6. The third hazelnut from the pure cluster is another Tadhg, Murchadh's heir: maintaining the poets of ancient lore, this O'Brien shall be in all men's mouths.
7. About the Children of Cas the three branches from the native soil shall be a wood of shelter: none but a poet can despoil them, the three stately trees ever fruitful.
8. Three hawks fortunate in the chase against marauders: loving their race, equal in age, swift birds of combat from one forest.
9. Three bears victorious in fight, by their defence of Maicnia's mansion the three comrades shall be three redoubtable champions.
10. Three devourers[2] of the salmon of knowledge, three pips of a gold-skinned apple, three blossoms that make our verse, mirrors that beguile womenfolk.
11. Three fresh hazelnuts from the finest cluster, three streams from the rock of a clear spring, seedlings of a kingly branch with noble mind, juice of the vines of princely sway.
12. Soon shall their javelins be fighting in Conn's Half[3] as bright and bloodred spears of valour for the warlike, brave and active band.

[1] As on a musical instrument. [2] lit. "destructions."

[3] The reference is deliberately vague. Their fighting would be mostly in Munster, but it was against poetic etiquette to mention attacks on their neighbours, or on each other!

13. Three hurly-sticks that win the goal against the warriors of the land of the fair Maigue shall they exchange for ivory-hilted swords—it will be a defence to the race of Cobhthach.
14. These youths who meet beside me—the lads shall be a flock of champions: a riding horse controlled by each O'Brien, like steeds harnessed[1] with golden bridles.
15. Like fires from which sparks are cast, which blaze from a single flash, shall be the three throughout fair soft Banbha, motives of battle and contest.
16. It is no blemish in pure and precious gold—such is ever its wont—to be at first an honoured glowing mass of soft metal, this I mark as an example to the race of Brian.
17. Six white sides, fair as foam, six calves of notable steps, six feet that will be a prop in battle, six hands that kindle honour.
18. Six cheeks that need never blush, six modest but far-seeing eyes: no request finds them unwilling—three fine mouths with gentle words.
19. Conchubhar of the white skin, two Tadhgs, rewarding schools, supporting chief bards,[2] these are the three that I have chosen, I doubt not that I shall be made content.
20. May the Trinity bestow upon the three long life upon the soil of the holy clerics: flower of the fair hosts that never hoarded their wealth, to be telling of them is dear.

OSBORN BERGIN.

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[1] The word *aice* is doubtful; it may be a corruption of some proper name.

[2] The *bard* was a mere singer or reciter, inferior in rank to the poet (*file*).

THE GRAND ORIENT IN FRANCE

BY DENIS GWYNN

A SERIES of books which have recently been issued by Catholic publishers in Paris have thrown a great deal of light upon the secret power of French Freemasonry in politics, and particularly upon the present intentions of the Grand Orient in France in regard to renewing the pre-war attacks upon the Church. The most important of these is a pamphlet prepared by M. A. G. Michel, in collaboration with a very influential committee of Catholic public men, consisting of General Castelnau, the Abbé Bergey, Dr. Oberkirch, and Comte Edouard de Warren (deputies), MM. Louis Guibal, Jean de Leusse, Jacques Marcellot and Henry Reverdy, and M. Antoine Rédier, Director of the *Revue Française*. Under the title "The Dictatorship of Freemasonry in France," he has compiled from the official publications of the Grand Orient a long series of extracts which speak for themselves, showing how the forces of French atheistic Freemasonry (which is, of course, very different in character from the semi-religious Freemasonry of Great Britain and Ireland) has been mobilising for several years to bring back a government in France that will actively

[1] *Cinquante Ans de Politique : L'Oeuvre d'Irreligion* (Eugène Tavernier). Editions Spès. 15 francs.

L'Anticléricalisme Français : Hier et Demain (Henri du Passage). Editions Spès. 4 francs.

Le Secret des Loges (Henri du Passage). Editions Spès. 2 fr. 50.

La Dictature de la Franc-Maçonnerie sur la France. (A. G. Michel). Editions Spès. 4 francs.

La Leçon du Passé : Nos Congrégations et nos Ecoles (Mgr. Landrieux). Editions Spès. 6 francs.

revive the old campaign of destruction against the Church.

This compilation is specially interesting in showing how actively concerned was the Grand Orient in preparing the overthrow of MM. Poincaré and Millerand and their Bloc National, and bringing into power the present Chamber of Deputies, with its anti-Catholic majority and a Government definitely committed to declaring war again upon the Catholics. It is illuminating, for instance, to read that the following instructions were officially issued when preparations for last year's elections were in active progress : " On the eve of the Parliamentary elections, what is essential for the success of the Republican cause ? That the order of the day should be issued by the Grand Orient of France. We were beaten in 1919 . . . It is the function of Freemasonry to give the orders of battle. Those orders must be heeded, and the Freemasons must be the liaison officers of our future victories. You are in a position to achieve this. It is for you to defeat the delegates of the Bloc National " (*Convent*, Grand Orient, 1923, p. 325). The Masonic *Weekly Bulletin* had insisted on the same point in January of the previous year (No. 353), saying that " reaction had triumphed in the last elections under the specious promises of the Bloc National," but that " the union of the Republican parties would surely return a Republican majority which would insist upon the formation of a Republican government."

It is important to note this constant appropriation of the word Republican by the Masonic Lodges : the Conservatives and Nationalists are described not only as reactionaries but as being enemies of the Republic—though, needless to say, M. Millerand and M. Poincaré are as convinced Republicans as are their Radical opponents. But the Republic implies, to the Masonic Lodges, a definite hostility not only to the Church, but to all religion : and the impartial respect of all creeds, which is the policy to which men like M. Millerand have become

attached since the war, is, to the Grand Orient, a denial of its first principles—which involve war to the death against religion in every form.

Thus, the Grand Orient policy is outlined in 1922 (*Convent*, p. 266) as being "to ensure the defence of Democracy and Free Thought against the Clerical and Reactionary Bloc." Is not Masonry, "which contains in its fold Republicans of every shade, obviously destined to put an end to all those divisions which are to be found among the various parties that form the vanguard?" Again (p. 236): "It is for us to organise the defence of the Republic. We can only triumph through securing unity among the parties of the Left. We must get together all the Republican forces of goodwill, and in co-operation even with the Communists, we must formulate a programme capable of rallying all their energies." With this object the Grand Orient issued a circular in 1921 to all the Masonic Lodges through the provinces recommending organisation for the defence of the Republic, and giving the outlines of such a programme. Reports from the provincial Lodges to headquarters show what progress was being made in this organisation, and the hopes thus aroused of reviving the "Republican" cause before the elections were due to take place. In Paris a series of deliberate consultations with the various parties of the Left was undertaken; and the leaders of the Radical Socialists, the Independent Socialists, the Unified Socialists and of the Communists were invited to lecture at the Grand Orient headquarters on their party programmes, with a view to securing unity of action for the common object of overturning the Bloc National.

The deliberate, positive objective of the Grand Orient, irrespective of minor party differences, has been defined repeatedly in the official reports of the Grand Orient for several years. Since the war it consisted quite simply in overthrowing the existing majority in the Chamber, commonly known as the Bloc National—"the embodiment

of Reaction and Clericalism." "We must get rid of the present Chambre," declared the Grand Orient in 1922; and the official Gazette of the Grand Lodge of France in October of that year declared :—

> We are at the moment passing through very troubled times. The Chambre which was elected in 1919, at a time of panic and of dread of Bolshevism, certainly no longer represents the views of the electorate; and in 1924 France will give us a very different Chambre to what we have now. As Masons, we have no direct concern with politics, but we are at least under a solemn obligation not to hold ourselves aloof, and everyone of us must play his part as a responsible citizen. And is this not a matter of vital necessity for all French Masons, at a time when, after the Republic has lasted for more than fifty years, we are ruled by a Government which is heading more and more decisively towards reaction?"

Such declarations make it impossible to deny the close and direct association of the Grand Orient with the organisation of the Bloc des Gauches. In 1923 the Grand Orient becomes even more definite: "The democratic ideal is being jeopardised by the revival and the sinister activities of the clerical reaction. Have we any hope of any helpful intervention by our present rulers? . . . . Our present rulers are quite manifestly bound hand and foot by the Capitalist and Clerical Reaction." And in February of last year, when the Grand Orient's subterranean campaign was already in full swing, here is a typical declaration by a Socialist deputy for the Oise, the Freemason Jammy Schmidt, to a Lodge at the Grand Orient's headquarters in Paris :—

> We who aspire to bring about the revival of France in favour of the Republic and of Peace, through the agency of the Republic and of Peace, are resolved to deprive the Bloc National of its present power, and to bring to the country the reforms and the salvation which it may hope for from a majority devoted to the work of reparation.

Eventually, as everyone knows, the Masonic propaganda and preparations helped to achieve the downfall of the Bloc National. In the new Chambre itself some

225 Freemasons were returned as deputies; while the Masonic influences unquestionably played a decisive part in hundreds of constituencies. In 1923 the Grand Orient had declared that "Freemason deputies must realise that they owe their position in large measure to the Masonic order." Even if they do not owe their election directly to the decisive influence of Freemasonry in a narrow contest, yet they remain constantly subject to the influence of the Grand Orient, through consultations with and meetings at the Lodges or Leagues to which they belong. Thus, M. Herriot himself is one of the leaders of the Ligue de la Republique, which sprang from the Comité de la Rue Valois, which the Grand Orient actually founded. Most of his chief associates in the Cabinet were active Freemasons, whose names occur again and again in the *Weekly Gazette* of the Grand Lodge of France.

It was not surprising, therefore, that when the new Government came into office it proceeded at once to carry out the programme that the Grand Orient had prepared. The Grand Orient had insisted again and again upon the necessity for constant vigilance to secure that its nominees who were returned to the Chambre should fulfil their instructions, given before the elections were held. Thus, in 1923, it had been officially laid down that the Freemason deputies "owe their position largely to the Masonic Order and must remain subject to its discipline during their term as deputies. It is essential that they should be guided by the decisions and discussions of the General Assembly in so far as these concern political matters: in every circumstance of their public lives they are under a strict obligation to conform to the principles which govern us as Masons. All Freemasons who occupy public positions are in duty bound to apply these principles, and those of them who have responsibilities as elected representatives, having either solicited or received the formal approval or the tacit support of their brother Masons, are all the more stringently obliged—more even than other

Masons—never to lose sight of those principles of Masonry which have given them public importance and made their political careers. They must, therefore, render an account of their stewardship to their own Lodges at regular intervals. They are under an obligation, whenever the Government acts in a way to challenge Masonic principles, to report the matter to their own Lodges and to bring pressure to bear upon the Government." They must direct their actions with regard to the interests of Masonry, " by forming groups in Parliament itself which shall do their utmost to further the cause of Freemasonry. It is intolerable that Freemason deputies who owe their public careers to our support should allow their personal interests to come before those of Masonry."

At the General Assembly in 1923 the Freemason M. Court, who presided, moved a resolution, which was adopted, demanding that " Republicans should insist on the eve of the elections, upon obtaining from all candidates definite pledges—in writing, if necessary—that would give satisfaction from the laic point of view." Another Freemason, M. Leyne, had announced in September that " next year we shall ask all candidates to give us written pledges of their support for the laic schools. We must insist upon obtaining from our Freemasons in the Chambre and the Senate pledges not only in word but in writing. There have been too many Freemasons in Parliament who have betrayed us, though they owed their political career to our support, and we must obtain the most solemn pledges from them all in future." The Congress of Lodges in the S. East of France was no less firm in " inviting the Council of the Order and the Lodges to examine very closely the actions and the votes of Freemason members of Parliament and of the Government, so as to prevent them from evading the pledges they had given. Such evasions can be real betrayals of honour, can damage the prestige of Freemasonry, and consequently require the infliction of Masonic penalties ; "

and it further demanded that " the list of all Freemason members of Parliament should be submitted to the Officers of all the Lodges, with a view to facilitating the supervision and control of their votes." And in the Grand Orient headquarters in 1923 great enthusiasm was shown at the assertion that " we must put an end to all failures by Freemason members of Parliament to honour their pledges." Finally, a resolution was passed at the Grand Orient in 1923, on behalf of an important group of Lodges, that " all Freemasons elected to Parliament or to other elective assemblies who have shown by their attitude or their votes that they are not entirely in accord with Republican principles, and who are thus retarding the economic and social progress of the country, shall be expelled from Freemasonry after consideration of their conduct by their respective Lodges; but not until the latter, or the Council of the Order itself, shall have first reminded them of their duties. Such expulsion to be irrevocable and to be notified forthwith to the Grand Orient without further explanation. And further that Freemasons who appeal for the suffrages of electors as members of any anti-Republican party or coalition shall be liable to similar expulsion."

These typical quotations amply prove the contention that the Grand Orient is actively concerned with French politics, and that it uses its whole influence on the side of the Bloc des Gauches against what it describes as the " Clerical Reaction." M. Michel's book, after establishing the definite interest of the Grand Orient in politics, proceeds to show how quickly M. Herriot put its programme into operation. Here also there is plenty of evidence available, although it must be noted that some, at least, of the policies advocated by the Grand Orient—such as reconciliation with Germany and the diplomatic recognition of Soviet Russia—command fairly general support. But the sequence of policy proposed by the new Government follows the programme of the Grand Orient so

closely that it deserves fuller examination. Thus, the Grand Orient in 1923 had denounced M. Millerand as the chief author of the " clerical reaction " ; and within three weeks of the elections which returned the Bloc des Gauches to power, M. Millerand was forced to resign the Presidency. The Ministerial declaration of policy which followed soon after, on June 17th, announced a whole series of policies which had all been advocated strongly by the Masonic Lodges. They had, of course, demanded that the Vatican Embassy should be suppressed. In September the Government refused to include the credits for the Embassy in its financial programme. Similarly, in regard to the religious congregations. The Grand Orient in 1922 had urged that the laws of 1901 and 1904, which forbid the religious orders to teach, should be enforced, especially against the Jesuits. An important Lodge in Nantes had made special representations about the urgency of preventing the Lazarists, the Capuchins, the Dominicans and the Jesuits from opening schools, and a definite propaganda campaign to denounce the danger of the religious orders creeping back was started well before the elections. M. Herriot's ministerial declaration contained the explicit assurance that " we are determined to apply the laws concerning the religious orders. And this intention was before long put into action by the expulsion of the Clarisse nuns from Evian and Alençon. On October 5th M. Chautemps, as Minister for the Interior, announced that he had just ordered an inquisition into the activities of the religious orders in every department.

It is needless to follow M. Michel further in his elaborate recital of the Grand Orient resolutions, and of the pledges in fulfilment of their decisions given by M. Herriot in his official statement, and of the subsequent action taken to satisfy the Freemasons. M. Michel presents his case with such skill and such an appearance of complete conviction that one is tempted to believe that he proves too much.

There must, one feels, be a flaw somewhere; one has so often before heard the existence of conspiracies proved by an ingenious presentation of cause and effect. But can this apparent power of the Masonic Lodges really be explained away? Does the conspiracy really exist, even when all allowance has been made for melodramatic imagination?

M. Michel and his collaborators receive a very formidable confirmation of their thesis in the brilliant study, by Mgr. Landrieux, bishop of Dijon, which he completed before the outbreak of war in 1914, and has now published almost without alteration, apart from subsequent footnotes which show how continuous has been the Masonic influence that he seeks to expose. He, also, bases his case, with all the fastidious regard for verification that is characteristic of French scholarship, upon other authentic documents of Freemasonry dating from an earlier period. And his conclusion is, quite simply, that the Republican policy of the past thirty years has been inspired and conditioned by one dominant idea—the struggle against the Church—and that the interests of the country have been systematically sacrificed to this idea.

But how has this been possible while ultimate power must rest with the electorate, who have never failed to return large numbers of public-spirited Frenchmen vehemently opposed to, and aware of, the aims of the Grand Orient? Mgr. Landrieux admits that the men who have succeeded one another in power "have not all been blind fanatics, nor worthless careerists." But his explanation is quite clear. It is simply that "in thus pursuing without interruption, and at times against their own better judgment, this steady policy of destroying religion, they have been in fact obeying a systematic influence whose power is greater than their own and which never alters its direction."

He contrasts the steady pressure of this power behind the scenes with the kaleidoscopic changes of government

that have succeeded one another almost year by year since the Third Republic was constituted. This is, in fact, the most significant evidence of the paramount influence of Freemasonry in French politics. By 1913 there had been no less than fifty-four distinct governments since 1871; there had been forty-three since the fall of Marshal MacMahon. And the rapid series of changes has gone on ever since; though the war necessarily brought a truce between the Church and the State. That any consecutive policy, other than the obvious protection of French interests abroad, should have been consistently pursued through all these changes is astonishing. But that a policy of persistent attack upon the Church, which had for centuries represented the national faith of the French people, should have been pursued year after year in defiance of public opinion, and against all the conservative instincts of the peasantry, clearly requires some explanation.

Mgr. Landrieux finds the explanation clearly stated in the resolutions and programmes published in the official manuals of the Grand Orient. The passages he quotes are certainly very definite. Thus, the Grand Orient's *Gazette* for August, 1894, boasted openly that "Freemasonry is nothing else than the Republic under disguise, just as the Republic is nothing else than Freemasonry under a disguise." The same authority declared in the following year that "the Republic is the obedient daughter of the Grand Orient;" and again, in December, that "Freemasonry and the Republic are identically the same thing"; while the Order's Grand Council issued a manifesto, after an adverse vote had been given in the Chambre, declaring that "but for Freemasonry the Republic would have ceased to exist long ago." These are large boasts; but history scarcely shows them to be exaggerated.

As for the definitely anti-Christian tendencies of the Grand Orient, they have long been openly confessed.

English Freemasonry repudiated the Grand Orient years ago for this very reason. The quotations given by Mgr. Landrieux show that the suggestion of French Masonry being atheistic is not disavowed by the Grand Orient and its chief spokesmen. Ferdinand Faure described it in 1885 as "our great association of practising free-thinkers"; while in 1879 its aim was stated in the Grand Orient itself as being to "dechristianise France by every possible means, but above all by stifling Catholicism gradually every year with new laws against the clergy, until we arrive at closing all the churches." The Freemason M. Desmons, a member of the Supreme Council, openly asserted that "the conflict between Catholicism and Freemasonry is a death struggle, without quarter or mercy. Wherever a clerical shows his head, there a Mason must also be found. Wherever a crucifix is shown, the banner of Freemasonry must also be shown." In 1898 the annual Congress proclaimed: "Let us therefore be active at once. Let us unite more courageously and more closely than ever, to prepare and bring about the irrevocable and final destruction of Clericalism." Such quotations could be multiplied without end; and they seem to prove conclusively enough that the aims of the Grand Orient are so completely anti-Catholic that nothing that has happened during or since the war can have modified them.

How far the Grand Orient can continue to dominate French politics after the war must depend partly on the degree to which Freemasonry has extended its influence over France and partly on the extent and vigour of the Catholic resistance. Before the war the Masonic influence was such that even in 1888 the Grand Master of the Order declared: "We have organised in Parliament itself a veritable syndicate of Freemasons; and our political institutions are to-day, quite naturally, in the hands of the Freemasons of France." In 1896 his successor announced that "it is impossible henceforward that any

ministry should be formed which does not include a majority of Freemasons." This was said when M. Bourgeois presided over a Cabinet in which ten members out of eleven were Masons. Even then, more than half of the 300 Senators, and more then 200 of the 500 Deputies were Masons. And in every succeeding Cabinet they retained their majority. That is not to say that the power of the Grand Orient was unchallenged. It was obliged to denounce Government after Government for failing, in face of a hostile or a distrustful Parliament, to act up to its instructions. Yet gradually the Masonic programme was carried and enforced step by step. Mgr. Landrieux shows in an illuminating table how the resolutions of the Order were complied with year by year, as the attack on the Church developed stage by stage.

It is impossible here to examine in detail the panorama of wreckage thus caused by the deliberate fulfilment of their aims. M. Eugène Tavernier, in his masterly volume on *Fifty Years of Politics*, analyses the process of demoralisation, which he briefly describes as " the work of irreligion." The title is not of his own invention. It is quoted from an amazing passage in one of M. Viviani's speeches, made when he was Minister of Labour, in November, 1906, which was placarded by order of the Chambre all over France, and which declared openly : " *Tous . . . nous nous sommes attachés à* UNE OEUVRE D'IRRELIGION." Mgr. Landrieux, in his brilliant study of the same subject, deals particularly with the destruction of the teaching orders, reviews the almost incredible story of the confiscation of their property, which had been estimated at several milliards and was in practice found scarcely sufficient to cover the legal expenses of their liquidation and the wholesale scandalous corruption of the liquidators. He shows how the cost of primary and secondary education has involved a colossal burden in taxation which never existed before, while Ministers of Education have themselves admitted time after time that

the amount of illiteracy was actually growing under the new regime of State education.

In his study of the more recent revelations of Masonic intentions contained in M. Michel's pamphlet, M. Henri du Passage, the editor of the Jesuit review *Etudes*, discusses the future of French anti-clericalism in the light of its past record. Prophecy on such a subject is futile. But it is at least essential to understand how largely the Masonic influences do dominate the new phase of French politics that has been inaugurated by the elections of last May, which swept away the conservative majority produced by the war, who were impressed by the necessity of restoring internal union in France. The Bloc des Gauches has been, and still is, the avowed enemy of that "union sacrée" which meant in practice a resolution to leave the Church in peace and to leave the pre-war laws against the Church in abeyance. Even before the elections it had declared that it would undo the work of reconciliation with the Church which the restoration of diplomatic relations with the Vatican had begun: it appealed to the electors openly with a programme of reviving and enforcing the laws against the religious communities, whether they had come back to fight in the war or not. And M. Herriot, in the midst of financial crisis and of foreign entanglements, proceeded deliberately to carry out the orders of the Grand Orient in thus renewing the old dissensions and discords, made a hundred times more bitter by tragic memories of the war.

What of the future? The last elections brought back a Parliament which was once more subservient to the dictates of the Grand Orient. The Senate was already on its side. Only the triumph of the Right in a new election—and such a result is anything but certain, even if an election is held before 1928—can alter the situation in Parliament. A new election might quite possibly make the situation worse, as the recent municipal elections all over the country have shown. What is more, the country's

finances have become so unstable that any and every government is now tied hand and foot to the international financiers, who regard Caillaux as their chosen agent in French politics. The Catholic resistance must, therefore, be carried on by organisation outside of Parliament; by firm and determined opposition to any attack upon Catholic rights. And herein lies the chief difficulty for the Catholics—that they have the laws of the statute-book already against them, only waiting to be enforced; while an indifferent people (in Mgr. Landrieux's words) "no longer even attempts to react against the Masonic dictation; watches the progress of events without taking part; sees without heeding; hears without listening." In the past this attitude of passive observation has prevented any definite interference, even when public opinion was aroused by the outrageous injustice inflicted on the Catholics—as in 1880, when the first expulsions of the religious orders took place; or in 1885 at Chateauvilain; in 1899 and 1900 in Paris; in 1902 in Brittany, on the question of the schools; in 1903 in defence of the convents; in 1906 and 1907, against the Government taking inventories of Church property and the seizure of bishops' palaces and seminaries; in 1910 at Lyons and in Paris on behalf of the Little Sisters of the Poor. But always—as Mgr. Landrieux puts it—"the Government has played for time, with wonderful dexterity has appeared to suspend its campaign, in order that the resistance should subside; and then—as soon as the opposition had been lulled into impotence—it quietly gave another turn to the screw. That is how, without any unduly violent shock, but methodically and by degrees, and always under the cloak of legality which has a hypnotic effect upon the people, the Church in France has seen itself driven from every one of its positions, plundered of all its possessions, put outside the pale of the law, repudiated by the State, made captive—on the soil of France—by a handful of sectarians and a tribe of upstarts without a title and without a future;

driven to beg its bread, and fallen to such depths of destitution that its enemies declared that it could never rise again."

Is history about to repeat itself, now that the Bloc des Gauches has not only captured the Chambre but swept the country in the municipal elections which create the electoral colleges for the Senate ? Who can say yet that the Catholic resistance after the war has become formidable enough to check the plans of the Grand Orient, while public opinion has grown more than ever materialistic with the gradual drift from the country into the towns which the war accelerated ? At least the temper of the Catholics themselves is more daring and more resolute than before. They will not submit now, whereas they formerly bore their troubles without organised defiance. But it may be that such organised defiance will, for a time, only strengthen the hands of their persecutors. Of the ultimate issue, however, there can be no doubt. The religious revival has been gathering momentum for more than twenty years, and it no longer depends upon political patronage or toleration. Martyrdom, if it must come, will only intensify the zeal, and increase the numbers, of the Catholics of France.

Denis Gwynn.

"THE ROMANCE OF THE ROSE"

BY A. L. MAYCOCK

WE possess fifty-nine manuscript copies of the "Canterbury Tales"; of "The Romance of the Rose" no fewer than two hundred have been preserved. For nearly three centuries this remarkable poem enjoyed a vogue only equalled by "Reynard the Fox" and "The Golden Legend." Everybody knew it, read it, recited it, and quoted large portions of it by heart. Many of its phrases and epigrams have become household words. It was one of the first books to go through the printing-press; and up to nearly the middle of the 16th century editions followed in steady succession. Since the Reformation it has, of course, been grossly neglected.

The poem falls at once into two parts, which have nothing in common except the title and a certain vague structural resemblance. Of the two authors, William de Loiris and Jean de Meun, practically nothing is known except that the former died in 1240 or thereabouts, and that the latter died in Paris about 1273. William died without completing his work. His little allegory breaks off abruptly at line 4202. Some thirty years later Jean de Meun rounded off the poem with an epilogue of about 18,000 lines. The finished masterpiece is half as long again as the "Divine Comedy."

During the earlier part of the Middle Ages, between the First Crusade and the Albigensian war, Aquitaine and Languedoc had again become, as in Roman times, the

most brilliant and most cultured parts of Europe. Of all combines they had been least affected by the migrations and infiltrations of the 4th and 5th centuries. Historians of the last century attempted to maintain that the traditional respect for women, which is such a radical and distinctive feature of our European civilisation, was brought into Christendom by the little bands of barbarians who raided and plundered and, in some cases, encroached permanently over the frontiers of the old Empire. No idea could be more palpably unhistorical. Chivalry, romance, courtesy do not appear for nearly seven hundred years after the collapse of the central Imperial government, and, as Mr. Belloc has noted, they appear in precisely those districts in which the passage of these barbarians had been least felt.

It was in the Courts of Narbonne, Toulouse, Montpellier and the other great cities of the " meridional " that the ideas of " courtly " love first took shape. The whole movement was essentially aristocratic ; most of the great troubadours, like William of Aquitaine and Bertram de Bom, were themselves noblemen. A great deal has been written about this Provençal civilization ; yet it may well be doubted whether, if unchecked, it would have enjoyed a very healthy development, in spite of its admitted magnificence and wealth. It lacked ballast and it was somehow out of tune with the great central movements and tendencies of the time. Moslem, Jewish, and Greek influences were strong ; and it was from Languedoc that came that great assault on the moral unity of Europe —the Albigensian heresy.

But the poetry of the troubadours is the one distinctive contribution of Languedoc to the central traditions of Europe. For, apart altogether from the curiously elusive, almost mystical, ideas surrounding the " Courts of Love," the troubadours taught Europe the meaning of good manners.

The philosophies of courtly love and romance spread outwards, and their influence may be traced in the

mediaeval literature of every European country. The whole troubadour poetry is remarkable for its singular purity and lack of grossness; for a certain elvish gaiety and lightness of touch. The man is always a rather stupid, blundering fellow; the woman is always the practical guide, taking the initiative and keeping her head, whilst her lover is getting himself into all sorts of difficulties and relying on her to extricate him.

"Love is the medium through which alone the hero surveys the world around him, and for which he contemns everything that the age prized: knightly honour, deeds of arms, father and mother, hell and even heaven; but the mere promise by his father of a kiss from Nicolette inspires him to superhuman heroism; while the old poet sings and smiles aside to his audience, as though he wished them to understand that Aucassin, a foolish boy, must not be judged quite seriously, but that, old as he was himself, he was just as foolish about Nicolette."[1]

William de Loiris was the last of the great troubadours. In "The Romance of the Rose," basing his work very largely on Ovid's De Arte Amandi, he gathered up the whole philosophy of courtly love in the form of a pastoral allegory. The action of the poem is a dream, and the plot narrates the adventures of a lover in search of his beloved—the Rose. The Rose was any ideal of feminine beauty and grace—was not our Blessed Lady herself addressed as "Rosa Mystica"? All the characters are allegorical—Sir Mirth, Courtesy, Dame Richesse, Soft-Speech, Evil-Tongue, and so forth. All the elaborate paraphernalia of courtly love are introduced—the formal gallantry, the gentle humour, the extreme refinement of language and setting, and, throughout, a sort of shy suggestion that the thing must not be taken too seriously. It is a dainty, fascinating piece of work.

There is not a harsh or bitter word in the whole poem. The lover is the mild, ingenuous person, wishing well to

[1] A passage quoted by Henry Adams, "Mont-St.-Michel and Chartres," p. 231.

all men. Those who stand in his way are sinister demons, whom, however, he contemplates more in sorrow than in anger; whilst his friends are simply the delightful, helpful people that he always knew them to be. Everything is subordinated to the attainment of the Rose—not by blundering hot-headedly over obstacles and difficulties, but by elaborate circumventions and laboriously conceived plans of assault. All violence is ruled out. The setting is pastoral and idyllic. The Rose, so sweet and so desirable, yet withal so delicate, cannot be won in the rough Norman manner. On these lines William developes his precepts concerning politeness and good manners:—[1]

> And when thou passest from the hall
> Along the street, have care that thou
> Salute men first with courteous bow;
> Or if some one take precedence
> Of thee therein, have thou the sense
> To make reply without delay
> Returning his salute straightway.
>
> Watch well thy lips, that they may be
> Ne're stained with ill-timed ribaldry.
> Nor let from out thy mouth be heard
> Foul talk or unbecoming word;
> For courteous knight I hold him not
> Who suffereth hideous words to blot
> And mar his speech.

Then he passes on to the more particular case of the lover, speaking his lady's favour. The importance of having a good tailor is stressed; moreover:—

> Do not leave
> Thy shoes half laced, but have them new
> And sprucely made, fitting to true
> And perfect measure; then wilt thou
> See envious whisperers wondering how
> Ye put them on and take them off.

[1] We shall use throughout Mr. F. S. Ellis's admirable translation of the poem in the Temple Classics.

This is sage counsel. The lover should be gay and light-hearted in his lady's presence; he should be liberal and open-handed. If he possesses any special accomplishments, such as horsemanship or musical ability, let him not hesitate to play his part therein as occasion demands.

Such things thy suit will much advance.

A Victorian witticism described the Dark and Middle Ages as "a thousand years without a bath." The truth, of course, is that the bath was habitual and universal in the twelfth century, and exceptional at the Renaissance. When one has studied the ill-informed history of certain 19th century writers, it comes as a refreshing surprise to find the most popular and representative poet of his age, the man who marked the culmination of a whole era of poetic expression—to find this man quietly writing:—

Sweet cleanliness
Use thou as part of gentleness.
Wash off thine hands and ne'er forget
Thy teeth to whiten, nor e'er let
Thy finger nails untended be,
But pare and keep them carefully.
Lace well thy sleeves and comb thy hair,
But painted face and leering stare
Disdain, it suits but women or
Vile men, who get due scorn therefor.

As a matter of course, one looks for the inevitable mediaeval jests about the priesthood. William speaks of false lovers, who:—

Though they sing
Loud-voiced their woeful suffering
And loss of appetite and sleep:
Natheless I see these losels keep
Fat and well-liking, feeding higher
Than abbot, canon, monk or prior.

Of course it is an abuse of language and argues an unhistorical mind to describe this kind of thing as anti-

clericalism and to adduce from such instances, as many have done, the hopeless degradation of the entire Catholic priesthood. William's little thrust is perfectly representative. It means nothing. It is as innocuous as "The Private Secretary."

So much for William de Loiris—gallant, ingenuous, refined, dainty, and, when all is said and done, perhaps a trifle futile. The poem breaks off suddenly. The Rose has not yet been attained. There is a gap of some thirty years; and then Jean de Meun sets himself to complete the work.

. . . . . .

We have observed that the two parts of "The Romance of the Rose" have nothing in common except the title and a certain structural resemblance. They were written by men of diametrically opposed temperaments; and, further, they belong to totally different environments. If the "Romance" of William de Loiris is certainly aristocratic in its setting, that of Jean de Meun is no less certainly bourgeois. If the "Romance" of William belongs to the troubadour of Languedoc, that of Jean belongs to the manufacturing cities of Northern France.

You may pin down the distinction by reading such a typical troubadour poem as "Aucassin and Nicolette," and by contrasting it with Adam de la Halle's "Robin and Marion"—the first European comic opera. Adam was a citizen of Arras, and his whole tone is almost defiantly bourgeois. He moves amongst the weavers of Arras and breathes into his work the very spirit of mediaeval city life. He is fiercely satirical and exceedingly personal. Yet his plays were enormously popular, as well amongst the nobility as amongst his fellow-citizens. He wrote during the last quarter of the thirteenth century.

The second part of "The Romance of the Rose" is not a poem in anything but form; it would have been just as effective in prose. Jean de Meun presumably wrote in verse for two reasons—first that he was ostensibly com-

pleting an unfinished work and was more or less bound to preserve the form of the original; and second, that in the days before the introduction of printing memory played such a vitally important part in the transmission of literature—in recitation and so forth—that a popular writer could scarcely afford to neglect the employment of some verse-form, however simple. The troubadours, with the easy skill and variety of their rhymed couplets, were the creators of European lyric poetry.

"Jean de Meun," says M. Langlois, "is not only a great scholar and a man of letters; he is also a great poet, the greatest, perhaps, of the thirteenth century. In this respect he has commonly been too little considered, inasmuch as other more strikingly brilliant qualities of his mind have absorbed the attention of critics who have occupied themselves with him, and because, moreover, the numerous poems embodied in his "Romance" are somewhat obscured by the setting . . . . We may further remark that no other author of the thirteenth century writes with such ease as Jean de Meun, his style being invariably on a level with the ideas he desired to express, now powerful and rugged, now graceful and gentle, but always clear, elegant and picturesque."[1]

The whole of the 18,000 lines, with which he completed "The Romance of the Rose," are literally breathless. There is no hiatus throughout. Social satire, wit and humour, paradox and epigram, scholastic philosophy, physical science, theology, astronomy, ethics—all stream from his pen in a torrent as he sweeps over the whole range of human activity. Mr. Gaston Paris has described him as the Voltaire of the Middle Ages; and although he has none of Voltaire's aloof scepticism, and although his judgments are nowhere warped and vitiated by Voltaire's spirit of contemptuous ridicule, yet the searing flame of his sarcasm stamps his kinship with the great eighteenth

[1] Quoted by Mr. Ellis in the Prologue to his translation of the poem, from De Julleville, "Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Françaises."

century Deist. Five hundred years before Rousseau he is discussing the origin of property; three hundred years before Rabelais he catches the spirit of the Renaissance; three hundred years before Paracelsus he is exploding the superstitions of astrology.

It would probably be impossible to find in the whole range of mediaeval literature a more perfect picture of the lives, manners, and habits of thought of the ordinary thirteenth century educated citizen—the outlook and philosophy of a shrewd, hard-headed man of the world, fully abreast of every social and intellectual movement of his time. Never, perhaps, has personality been developed so fully and in such varied directions, never has character flashed with such brilliance as in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Yet there was nothing of individualism as we know it now—nothing of that philosophical egotism by which alone to-day we judge the interest of a man's "message." The whole tendency of the age was centripetal; and all, from the platform-orator to the scholastic philosopher, recognised in the great symmetrical structure of Catholic teaching the final unalterable moral standard. Nowhere in "The Romance of the Rose," with all its daring and brilliance, will you find a single instance of treachery to this code.

> Then here declare I before all
> I ne'er from out my lips let fall
> A word to injure living man
> Who doth his lip on virtue plan
> Beneath the Church's holy care
> Whatever robe or frock he wear.

And again:—

> And were there found by closest search
> One word in slight of Holy Church,
> Ready am I to make amend,
> For 'neath her rule my soul I bend.

Jean de Meun was a great misogynist; and since that was merely a private opinion of his own, we pass it without

comment, for we are studying him rather as a representative thinker of his time than as an individual. It says much for the vitality and wide popularity of the Romance" that, more than a hundred years after his death, Christine de Pisan, "that excellent blue-stocking," felt called upon to reply to his strictures on her sex; and that Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, expressed his alarmed disapproval of certain daring passages. One might hazard a pretty shrewd guess, though in total absence of confirmatory evidence, that Jean's own marriage had been an unhappy one; yet that does not upset his allegiance to the ideals of Christian marriage:—

> And if a spousal be mismade,
> And man and woman wild with rage
> In wordy contest should engage,
> Cursing all those who gave consent
> To celebrate the Sacrament,
> Then the insensate madman cries,
> "To God it is we owe these ties,
> Through Him alone hath come about
> This wretched matrimonial rout."
> And then doth he with oath aver
> It could no otherwise occur.
> No, no! This false is, as I live,
> Such sauce to folk God doth not give
> As cause them to agree unto
> A lie; our God is just and true.
> It is of men's foul passions rise
> Unholy thoughts and love of lies,
> Which urge them on to deeds they ne'er
> Need do unless they willing were;
> For those who know themselves may spurn
> Ill ways, and towards fair virtue turn.
> Let them unto their God address
> Their prayers, and He their hearts will bless.

Some of the most interesting passages in the poem are those in which he sketches the great conflict between the University of Paris and the Mendicant Friars. They are full of furious invective against the Friars. The questions

at issue concerned the exact status of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders in relation to established University discipline. They had secured the privilege of lecturing and teaching, without holding a regular University degree —an anomalous position which gave rise to considerable abuses, the Friars being apt often to disregard the decisions of the governing board and thereby to foster insubordination amongst the students. These abuses were savagely denounced in 1253 by William of St. Amour in his "Brief Tract on Latter-Day Perils," whose conclusions and arguments Jean de Meun closely follows. William was exiled, but the Friars eventually submitted to the established University practices. Jean takes up the cudgels on behalf of the University, and his case against the Friars is an impressive one.

As we consider the remarkable place that "The Romance of the Rose" holds in European literature, we should remember that the first part was written more than a hundred years, and the second part seventy years, before Chaucer was born. "When we turn," says Mr. Ellis, "to English literature contemporary with the work of Guillaume de Loiris and Jean de Meun, we cannot but be struck with a sense of humility at the wide gulf in human interest that lies between the two. A doubt steals over one whether there is not ground for the assertion sometimes heard made, that we were indebted to the inspiration of northern French architects and artists for the glories of our architecture, glass-painting and miniature painting in the thirteenth century."

Both Chaucer and Jean de Meun, like most mediaeval scholars, owed a great deal to Boethius' "Consolation of Philosophy" and to Alan of Lille's "De Planctu Naturae" From the former Jean de Meun derives his enthusiasm for the "Golden Age" and the past glories of the Simple Life. Anyone familiar with both "The Canterbury Tales and "The Romance of the Rose" must realise, however, the greatness of the debt that Chaucer owed to his French

predecessor. A single instance will suffice. Compare the following passage in "The Romance of the Rose" with Chaucer's delightful portrait of the Lady Prioress :—

She should behave her when at table
In manner fit and convenable ;
But should, ere yet she takes her place,
'Fore all the household show her face,
To let those present understand
That she much business hath in hand ;
Hither and thither should she flit,
And be the last of all to sit,
Making the company await,
While scanneth she each dish and plate ;
And when at last down sitteth she,
On each and all her eye should be ;
Before the guests should she divide
The bread and see each one supplied.
Then let her know the heart to win
Of some one guest by putting in
His platter dainty morsels, or
A wing or leg of fowl before
Him sets she, or with choicest slice
Of pork or beef will she entice
His appetite, or savoury fish
If of that day that be the dish.
No stint she makes, if he permits,
To ply his taste with choicest bits.

. . . . . .

'Tis well she take especial care
That in the sauce her fingers ne'er
She dip beyond the joint, nor soil
Her lips with garlic, sops or oil,
Nor heap up gobbets and then charge
Her mouth with pieces overlarge,
And only with the finger-point
Should touch the bit she'd fain anoint
With sauce white, yellow, brown or green,
And lift it toward her mouth between
Finger and thumb with care and skill,
That she no sauce or morsel spill
About her breast-cloth.

Then her cup
She should so gracefully lift up
Towards her mouth that not a gout
By any chance doth fall about
Her vesture; or for glutton rude
By such unseemly habitude
Might she be deemed.
Nor should she set
Lips to her cup while food is yet
Within her mouth.
And first should she
Her upper lip wipe delicately,
Lest, having drunk, a grease-formed groat
Were seen upon the wine to float.
She should not take one long-breathed draught,
Whether from cup or hanap quaffed,
But gently taste with sipping soft
Now and again, but not too oft,
Though thirst impels, at large should drink,
Lest those around perchance should think
Or say, if she the cup should clutch
With eager haste: She drinks too much.

As a work of dazzling versatility the "Romance" must be almost without parallel in the whole realm of European literature. As a picture of thirteenth century life and thought it is certainly unrivalled. And as one lays it aside, one is tempted to echo the striking paradox of a French historian—that every man has two countries, his own and France.

A. L. Maycock.

IRISH CATHOLICS AND THE BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT

BY JOSEPH CLAYTON, F.R.HIST.S.

SECULARISM in British politics can trace its origin to Godwin, Shelley, and the perfectibilians; to Bentham and the utilitarians; to Robert Owen and his "New Moral World" of Socialism. Its persistence in the Chartist movement can be discerned. It is conspicuous in the Marxian Socialism of William Morris and the late H. M. Hyndman; though Hyndman, some time before his death in 1921, came to acknowledge the need for religion. "I used to think that Social Democracy would take the place of a religion, but now I see that human beings want something more," were his words. To-day secularism survives predominantly in the Communist Party and influentially in the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.).

But there is another tradition in British Labour politics—a Christian tradition, which finds its source in the relations of Daniel O'Connell with William Cobbett. This tradition, maintained by Anglican Christian Socialists and by Methodists—for the latter were prominent in the building up of trade unions, and in especial in the miners' unions—drew new strength from the activities of Irish Catholics in England in the late eighties of the nineteenth century, when the modern labour movement began. That so considerable a number of Labour representatives in the House of Commons, and in county, city, and borough councils throughout Great Britain at the present time are Catholics is evidence that secularism has not prevailed politically. That a minority of Labour representatives (which includes Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Pres-

byterian, and Mr. Arthur Henderson, Wesleyan) enjoys membership in one or another of the various Protestant churches is additional evidence.

The Christian tradition, thus recognised and respected, may be dated from Cobbett's intercourse with O'Connell—one hundred years ago.

Cobbett's interest in Irish affairs was roused by O'Connell's Catholic Association. The question of Catholic Emancipation could not be separated from the general question of British rule in Ireland. Cobbett looked into the matter and very quickly discovered that in England, no less than in Ireland, Catholics had been shamefully slandered, their religion abominably misjudged. The discovery made, henceforth Cobbett was wholeheartedly with O'Connell in the cause of Catholic Emancipation, and O'Connell backed Cobbett in parliament on the election of the latter as M.P. for Oldham in 1832. The two men had their quarrels; that was inevitable where Cobbett was concerned; few there were with whom that remarkable man did not quarrel; and the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland at the price of Catholic Emancipation Cobbett could not forgive. But in the House of Commons it was always O'Connell and his band of Irish followers, never the Whigs, who were friendly to Cobbett; while Cobbett, on his part, was ever to the fore when Irish questions were discussed; as ready in opposition to a Coercion Bill as in support of repeal, the disestablishment of the Protestant Church, and remedies for the prevailing distress.

Cobbett was not the man to underrate his own services in any good cause. He knew that he had done something to shake the prejudice against the Catholic Church in England, to disturb the bigotry of princes and mobs. That O'Connell had shown him where the truth was to be found as far as Ireland was concerned, that in Lingard's *History of England* he had gathered a new and truer account of the Protestant Reformation were things not

to be denied by Cobbett; neither were they to be regarded as significant. It was Cobbett's own work that Cobbett was interested in; his obligations were, he judged, amply repaid by the use he made of the materials provided. In the *Political Register* he could write:—

> I have made no converts to the Catholic faith; but I have made many thousands of converts to the truth, respecting the cause of the Catholics . . . . I cannot have any desire to make converts to the Catholic faith. I believe it to be a very good faith; because, as far as my experience has gone, it produces very good moral effects; but my object is to show that it has been vilified unjustly, and that we ought not, on account of it, to be aiding and abetting in the ill-treating of our fellow-subjects.

Cobbett was an old man—he was over seventy—when he visited Ireland in 1834, and Dublin gave him a great public reception. Less than a year later Daniel O'Connell stood at the graveside in Farnham churchyard when Cobbett was laid to rest.

If in its earlier phases the Chartist movement drew considerable inspiration from Cobbett, it is certain that its leaders cannot, in the main, be called as witnesses to the Catholic influence in British politics. Neither Feargus O'Connor, for all that he sat as M.P. for Cork and supported Cobbett in the parliament of 1832-35, nor Bronterre O'Brien—perhaps the ablest of the Chartist leaders—were Catholics. No evidence suggests it. Chartism, in fact, was secularist; and its secularism was incorporated in the freethought and radical individualist propaganda of Charles Bradlaugh, and in the Socialism of Bradlaugh's opponents. Secularism, so it appears, has no lasting place in working-class politics in Great Britain. Rather is it seen as a fatally disintegrating element. Robert Owen's secularist "Socialism" melted away; Chartism petered out, rent by internal feuds and rivalries; the Marxian social-democracy, so strong a power in Europe before the War, is a spent force. (For the "Socialism" of the Labour Party, and the "Socialism" of western Europe generally,

is indeed no longer Marxian in any real sense. It is but another name for social reform. The revolutionary social democracy of a previous generation is openly disavowed by the parliamentary leaders everywhere. It is left to the Communists, looking to Moscow for guidance, and to continental Freemasons, Radical Republicans rather than Socialists, to preach the materialist doctrine and pursue the old mid-nineteenth century campaign against Catholicism).

In the British trade unions the Christian tradition was preserved. For these unions, which cover the work of the skilled trades, and were for the most part formed in the sixties, never had a secularist bias. Their leading spirits in many counties were Protestant Nonconformists, with an inclination to Liberal politics—except in Lancashire, where the opposition of the Liberals to factory legislation drove the workman to support the Conservatives. But politics and religion are alike excluded from all conditions of membership in the unions. Even to-day, when the trade unions are the mainstay of the political Labour Party, the individual trade unionist is free to pay or to withhold the levy for parliamentary action, and forfeits no union privilege when the decision is to withhold. Mutual aid was the foundation principle of the older trade unions. On mutual aid—sick benefits, relief in unemployment, the distribution of a common fund when a strike was called or a lock-out proclaimed—the skilled tradesman relied for the improvement of his position. The bulk of the Irish population in Great Britain was outside the skilled trades. It was a labouring population; and its work was done at the docks and shipyards of the principal ports, or inland at iron and steel works. Not until the rise of the "new unionism" (so it was called in the late eighties and early nineties), with its organisations of dockers and gasworkers and general labourers everywhere, is the Irish Catholic element noticeable in the trade union world. Not until the creation of the I.L.P. in 1892 is the

Irish Catholic element an influence in the politics of the British Labour Movement.

Three Irishmen in especial I recall, outstanding figures in the new unionism and in the politics of Independent Labour: Pete Curran, the general organiser of the Gas Workers' Union, Tom McCarthy, general organiser of the Dockers' Union, and James Sexton, general secretary of the Liverpool Dockers. All three were Catholics, but were in those years of the nineties (when I was secretary of the Leeds I.L.P. and on the local council of the Gas Workers' Union) more or less estranged from the practice of religion. This estrangement was very largely brought about through political differences. The Liberal Party in the nineties was pledged to Gladstone's Home Rule, and in consequence throughout England Irish Catholics were pledged to support the Liberal Party. When a new Labour Party was announced—loyal to Home Rule, it is true, but a party independent of, and antagonistic to, the Liberals and a party which declared that the social question was more important than Home Rule for Ireland, that industrial conditions needed changing more urgently than political conditions needed reform—the bitterness amongst Irish Catholics in England became extremely acute. For an Irishman to belong to the I.L.P. and to " split the Liberal vote " at elections was to proclaim himself a traitor and (politically, at least) a heretic. The new labour unions were not condemned. Cardinal Manning's support of the London dockers in the great strike of 1889, and his affection and regard for Ben Tillett, the dockers' leader, gave a recognition to the new unionism that could not be misunderstood or mistaken. It was the action of men like Pete Curran, Tom McCarthy and James Sexton, Irishmen and Catholics, leaders not only in the new labour unions, but also leaders in the I.L.P., that outraged the feelings of their compatriots and savoured of treachery to " the party." Hence the estrangement from religion.

The I.L.P. itself, though professedly Socialist in its

objective, was never Marxist; the rank and file were social reformers favourable to the collectivism of the Fabian Society; its chief advocates never cultivated the revolutionary spirit. In its attitude to religion the I.L.P. was curiously unlike every Socialist society on the Continent. Anglican clergymen and nonconformist ministers figured with applause at its meetings, and the first treasurer of the I.L.P. was a Catholic and an Englishman, an old Wykhamist and Oxonian—John Lister, the Squire of Shibden Hall, in Yorkshire, now a very old man. Mr. Lister was a convert from high Anglicanism in 1871, and his support of trade unions preceded his reception into the Church. Twice John Lister fought Halifax as an independent Labour candidate, in 1893 and in 1895; but thirty years ago independent Labour candidates were not elected to parliament; for in those years the labour movement was a field for adventure and not yet an opportunity for a political career.

Pete Curran—born in Glasgow—fought five elections in fifteen years, and finally sat in the House of Commons, as member for Jarrow, from 1906 to 1910. For twenty years he was the organiser of the Gas Workers' Union; and this union, now the National Federation of General Workers (President, the Right Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P.), is by far the strongest of all the labourers' unions. It was cradled in the populous borough of West Ham, and from the first included independent political action and an eight hours' day for all trades in its programme. Curran really played a big part in detaching the working class of Britain from its old allegiance to Liberal and Conservative parties and in enrolling it in a new Labour Party. At his best he was a peculiarly attractive speaker and his courage was never missing. Convicted of "intimidation" at a labourers' strike at Plymouth in 1890, and sentenced to six weeks imprisonment, he hugely enjoyed the satisfaction of getting the sentence quashed on appeal by Chief Justice Coleridge. Curran had immense physical strength;

he had served his trade as a blacksmith; but, careless of health, heedless of strength, twenty years of an agitator's life left him worn out at fifty, and he died in 1910. Before his death Curran was reconciled to religion, and he was buried with the rites of the Church. The crowded hours of a labour organizer's life never encouraged the habits that made for healthy existence. Tom McCarthy, of the Dockers' Union, was worn out before he was thirty-seven, and died unreconciled. He had outlived the old political excommunication of the London Irish party, but was at loggerheads with the local clergy at Poplar concerning the education of his children; and death came to him in hospital before he thought of sending for a priest.

Of the trio named, James Sexton alone survives, and Mr. Sexton is now sixty-nine. When he was eight years old Sexton went to work in a glass factory in St. Helens. At the age of sixty-two he was elected to the House of Commons for the same town; to be re-elected in 1922, 1923, 1924. A tale of high adventure, of hard battling for life, of discomforts endured, of victories accomplished is the record of those fifty-six years. At the age of twelve the boy fled from the glass works and escaped as a stowaway to San Francisco. Then came ranching at San José, and after that certain voyages round the world before the mast. In early manhood Sexton came to anchor in Liverpool, and was married. It was in the year of his marriage, while he was working as a docker in Liverpool, that a defective piece of machinery laid him low, and marred for the time almost beyond recognition a face singularly sensitive and intelligent. (This accident was in the bad days before workmen's compensation, when British employers cared little and the British Parliament less for the injuries and sufferings of dock labourers). Time has brought healing and smoothed the disfigurements that once made the face of Sexton so distinctive at the labour conferences and demonstrations of the nineties. Sexton, with Curran and McCarthy, threw himself into the I.L.P. at its formation. He was

at that time the secretary of the Liverpool Dockers, in the National Union of Dock Labourers which Edward McHugh and Richard McGhee had founded.

Not only was Sexton a welcome platform speaker thirty years back—for crowds could be moved as readily to laughter by his dry, ironic humour as to tears by his deep pathos—he was an excellent man for getting things done at conferences. Moreover, he was a man of parts, writing capital stuff in that very lively weekly paper, *The Clarion*, under the signature of "Citizen." *The Clarion* had a great vogue, in the North of England especially, at that time. It was edited by Robert Blatchford ("Nunquam"), and another Irish Catholic besides Sexton, E. F. Fay (an old Stonyhurst or Ushaw boy—I forget which), was a highly popular contributor. *The Clarion* was quite definitely pro-Labour, and advocated Socialism of a sort. But the paper had humour, its writers were not Marxist; and since humour is generally lacking in the genuine revolutionary, and seriousness without solemnity is apt to be a reproach, *The Clarion* never won the full approval of the more earnest minded trade unionist. After Fay's death in 1897 Mr. Blatchford, an indefatigable journalist, took up determinism and entered the lists against Christianity. Late in life, following the example of two former English secularists, Richard Carlile and Robert Owen, Mr. Blatchford has abandoned free thought propaganda for spiritualism.

The old Liverpool docker, Mr. James Sexton, M.P., has mellowed with the years. Yet is there no man in Parliament of stouter loyalty to the common people, the labouring Irish people of the waterside, whence he has sprung, and to their fellows of the British race; and no man more sure in his support of things that pertain to the interests of Catholics. In the indebtedness of the British Labour Movement to Irish Catholics—and the amount cannot be totalled and is still mounting up—the long service of James Sexton is a big item.

Until the British trade unions in 1900 constituted

themselves a political labour party, the I.L.P. was the visible expression of trade unionists and of others who, favourable to Socialism, had no desire for a political philosophy that was atheist, and no inclination to include anti-Christian or anti-clerical articles in their labour programme. The trade unions were not the creations of political Socialists; they were self-made, and inherited no secularist tradition. The I.L.P. sprang from the trade unions, and Irish Catholics helped to make it a national organization untinged by atheism. The Labour Party has now superseded the I.L.P. as the political expression of the trade union, and the I.L.P. has become, in consequence, almost exclusively a middle-class organization. This has meant an increase of the secularist influence, and Catholics prefer to join the Labour Party direct rather than seek membership in the I.L.P.

While the old Catholic families in England remain steeped in Conservative traditions, the larger proportion of the Catholic vote at elections is given to the Labour Party. No statistics can be offered in proof of this statement; but the fact that of the candidates at local and parliamentary elections who are Catholics the majority are nominees of the Labour Party is an evidence not to be disregarded. The Liberals dwindle, and their adherents pass to Conservatism or to Labour; a preference for the two-party system explains the process. It is taken for granted that the Liberals have been superseded by the Labour Party.

Within the Labour Party the Irish Catholic influence steadily persists and increases. Two men may be named: Mr. John Joseph Jones (better known as "Jack Jones"), a trade union leader, and Mr. John Wheatley. Both are capable men, with reputations earned in local administration—the former in West Ham, the latter in Glasgow—enhanced by activities in the House of Commons.

Mr. "Jack" Jones is Curran's successor as organizer of the National Federation of General Workers. He was

of the left wing when Socialism was considered "extreme," but his instinctive and frankly spoken dislike of Bolshevism has won him the enmity of the Anglo-Bolsheviks of the Communist Party, and placed him as an old-fashioned Socialist on the right. Jones has many gifts. Was it in Tipperary, where he was born in 1873, the gifts were received that have carried him so far in English public life, and would carry him still further could he acquire the dull respectability of speech and manner that conveys the stamp of gravity, and is required of all who would pass for statesmen in the British Labour Party? Was it from the Christian Brothers, in whose schools Jack Jones was taught in boyhood, the quick retort and rapid firing of repartee were learnt, the first lessons of platform oratory acquired? For at his best the man reaches the heights of the orator. Yet, perhaps, this best is not, after all, displayed in the outbursts of eloquence during parliamentary debates, in the impassioned speech of the agitator at a monster Labour demonstration, but rather in the good sense of so many an utterance in the West Ham Town Council Chamber and at trade union conferences and congresses.

The Right Hon. John Wheatley, M.P., belongs to the Glasgow Labour group, and until his election to the House of Commons in 1922 was hardly known in England. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald promptly picked him for the Cabinet and made him Minister for Health. The choice was justified; for Mr. Wheatley has the ordered powers of a business man's mind, he is prompt in debate, and an excellent speaker. Parliamentary experience has not yet quenched the generous exuberance of Mr. Wheatley's indignation at the long suffering of the poor.

Others we could name in the Labour movement and in trade union management who combine with the practice of their religion a lively interest in politics. The time has gone by when Socialism was proclaimed a religious faith sufficient for mankind, and Labour Churches were set up.

(Chartism, too, in its day had been declared a religion, and Owenism before that. And Chartism had its churches, even as Robert Owen's disciples had set up their Sunday meetings for bringing in the "New Moral World"). Discretion no longer suggests that in Protestant England or in Presbyterian Scotland it were well for a Catholic to refrain from profession of the Faith he holds. The tendency, in England certainly, is to respect a profession of the Christian faith—be it Catholic or Protestant—on the part of a parliamentary candidate. Such profession is rated as a guarantee of honesty in public and of decency in private life.

That the British Labour Party is not committed to any policy of secularism, that it is neither anti-Christian nor anti-clerical in its legislative and administrative aims, that its propaganda includes neither divorce nor Malthusianism, is due not to any numerical predominance of Christians. Catholics and members of the Church of England and the Free Churches are in a minority in the trade unions and the Labour Party. But a Christian tradition has survived in the trade unions from their start, and this tradition has been passed on to the Labour Party; with it has companioned a complete tolerance in religion, and a will, resolutely enforced, that the religious opinions of members shall be strictly respected, and shall not let or hinder any election to office.

The Christian tradition was greatly reinforced thirty-five years ago, when the labourers' unions were established and the Independent Labour Party set up, by the incursion of Irish Catholics. They exerted an influence which has endured in Labour politics and is very considerably responsible for the absence in the British Labour Party of anti-clericalism and hostility to the faith and morals of the Catholic Church. It is an influence that can hardly diminish, though it may always be challenged by the secularism that is impatient of the doctrine of the Kingdom of God.

JOSEPH CLAYTON.

CHRONICLE

I.—The Canonization of Two Catechists

BY GEORGE BYRNE, S.J.

On May 21 there took place at Rome the canonization of Peter Canisius, a German, and on May 31, that of John Baptist Vianney, a Frenchman. Separated by more than two centuries—Canisius was born in 1521, Vianney in 1786—these two saints seem, at first, to have nothing in common. Canisius was brought up in wealthy, aristocratic surroundings ; Vianney, the child of peasants, spent his early years tending sheep. Canisius was a man of the highest intellectual attainments, a scholar in more than one branch of learning, who was able to hold the attention of the members of the Council of Trent in a discourse of over two hours' duration ; Vianney was of such mediocre talent that it was feared he could not be ordained ; and indeed, if a richer inpouring of the gifts of the Holy Ghost had not supplemented his intellectual inferiority, the world would probably never have heard of the Curé of Ars. Yet in spite of so many differences, in spite of the fact that the ministry of the Curé was confined within the narrow sphere of Ars, whilst Canisius left his mark on more than one of the big European cities, these two men are alike not only in heroic sanctity, officially honoured by the Church in their canonization, but also because for both of them one of the principal titles to glory is their Catechetical work.

They commenced their work at a time when the Church had to fight against powerful forces. Canisius was born in the year in which Luther definitely hardened himself in his errors and refused to retract at the diet of Worms. On the death of Luther, in 1546, the protestantising of Germany seemed almost accomplished ; yet fifty-one years later, when Canisius breathed his last, it was clear that he had stayed the onrush of the Reformation peril and secured a strong line of resistance for the Catholic Church. When Blessed

Vianney took up the charge of the parish of Ars, religion was at a low ebb. France was suffering from the effects of the Revolution. Society, high and low, was demoralised by the two evils of free thought and free enjoyment. Free thought then, as in the cultured paganism of to-day, meant freedom to indulge in any and every view except belief in God's revealed word, and free enjoyment meant, at its worldly best, not judging too rigorously the so-called foibles of society, and, at its worst, an open rejection of all moral restraint.

Protestantism and the Revolution are really Father and Child. They both coquetted with individualism, and made slaves of the dupes to whom they spoke of liberty. Human peace and happiness can only rest on a foundation of discipline, and the dissolution of society must follow where the false tenets of individualism prevail. Unsound doctrines, supported by catchwords, easily spread among the ignorant, and sound education is as necessary for the maintenance of peace as for the progress of civilisation. But there can be no sound education apart from religion, and no true religion that is not based upon principles as changeless as God Himself.

Canisius, in his struggle against the Reformation, and Vianney, in his fight against the dissolute morals of the Revolution, realised that the people should be instructed, and that the most efficient means of instructing them was through the Catechism. The idea is not new in Church history. In the fourteenth century, when the Church was suffering from the disastrous effects of the Western Schism, Gerson, the celebrated chancellor of the University of Paris, saw that efficient religious instruction was the best remedy against the evil. He was not merely content with writing that the ministry of catechising " is a great work, a work than which it would be hard to find a greater,"[1] but he himself might frequently be seen in Paris or in Lyons catechising the children. Amongst many saintly and celebrated men who devoted themselves, in one form or another, to Catechetical work we might mention St. Vincent de Paul, B. Jacques Olier, Bossuet, Fénelon, Dupanloup ; and note that St. Ignatius of Loyola obliges the formed religious, after his final profession, to devote some time to it, as well as any member of the Order who has just been appointed to the office of Superior or Rector.

To-day, when a variety of schemes are being put forward for the regeneration of a world so sadly at war with itself, the Pope has written reminding us that there is only one remedy to the unrest,

[1] Gerson, *De parvulis ad Christum trahendis.*

viz., "that the peace of Christ be sought in the kingdom of Christ: and we add that this kingdom cannot be established on earth by any other means than by the careful labour of the Church, devoting herself to the instruction of mankind." And so the Holy Father constitutes a special section in one of the Sacred Congregations "to control and further the entire Catechetical work in the Church."[1]

We have headed this article the "Canonization of two Great Catechists," because, as we said, the devotion to the Catechism formed no small portion of their zeal, and to it must be attributed in great measure the striking results attending the efforts of these Saints.

In the large quarto volume of Sommervogel's Bibliography seventy-one columns are devoted to the account of the works published by Canisius, and their various editions and translations. One is astonished at the number of books which he wrote, on Scripture, Apologetics, Ascetical and Dogmatic Theology, and even popular prayer-books. But though many of these volumes betray the ripe scholar, his Catechism will remain his greatest work. He spent three years composing this "Summary of Christian Doctrine, proposed in question form, and for the use of Christian youth"; the first edition of 4,000 copies was exhausted in a few months. In 1558 he published another work called the *Little Catechism of Catholics*, which in one hundred years had run through 400 editions. Seventeen years after his death his biographer, Fr. Rader, wrote :—

> The good which has been accomplished almost in the whole world by the Catechism of Canisius is untold. It is explained to children, it is commented on in the churches, the schools, the gymnasia, and the universities. It may be truly said that to-day Canisius speaks the language of nearly all the countries, German, Slav, Italian, French, Spanish, Polish, Greek, Hungarian, English, Scotch, Ethiopian, and, as I have even heard from my brethren, Indian and Japanese, so that Canisius might and indeed may to-day be called the Doctor of almost all nations.[2]

Pope Leo XIII., in his Encyclical on the occasion of the tercentenary of B. Peter Canisius, recalls to the Bishops of Germany that it was regularly asked: "Do you know your Canisius," instead of "Do you know your Catechism"? A modern Protestant writer pays a striking tribute to this Catechism :—

> This little book, thanks to the support of the Catholic authorities, soon achieved a popularity equal to that of Luther's Catechism. But it deserved the success by its own instrinsic value. It is written in a clear popular style, presented in an attractive form, and is deeply imbued with the aroma of Scripture, in keeping

[1] Motu Proprio, Acta Apost. Sedis, XV., p. 327.

with the needs of the day. Its principal merit is that it is exempt from all polemics, properly so-called. And this is the very quality which, in that bellicose age, made it superior to all the polemical works of the Catholic party. It became, in its abridged form, a kind of popular breviary like the little Catechism of Luther, and so it was honoured by its Protestant opponents with the same hostile appreciation which the Catechism of Luther received from Catholics.[1]

Twentieth century statesmen are not concerned with Church Catechisms ; the days have passed when we might find on their title-page an inscription similar to that on the work of Canisius : " By the order and authority of his Majesty King of the Romans' of Hungary, etc.," or when rulers, like Philip II. of Spain, would order its use in their dominions. At present religion and state-craft are violently divorced, and so the world is restless for want of honesty founded on religious love. For three hundred years " Canisius " was the Catholic text-book in Germany.

Of the Curé of Ars his Bishop once said : " I do not know if he be well instructed, but he is enlightened." The Curé was not a man of learning in the technical sense, his very speech betrayed his humble origin and his lack of scholarship. He could not have written books, and so though he could not have the world for audience, like Canisius, his Catechisms nonetheless made him widely known. Every day he went to the " Providence " or orphanage which he had founded, and gave one of his Catechetical instructions, primarily intended for the children, but which soon became known to the outer world, and which for thirty years were listened to with admiration by the endless crowd of pilgrims to Ars. The practical fruit which they bore in the village made one of these visitors exclaim : " To spend a day there was to take leave of the nineteenth century, and to find oneself again in the ages of Faith."

In his beautiful life of the Curé the Abbé Monnin writes : " For those to whom it was given to assist at these Catechisms there were two points equally remarkable : the preacher and the auditor. As regards the first, he preached not so much by word of mouth as by word of soul, a saintly soul steeped in love and faith displayed before you, of which you felt the immediate contact and which shed its radiance upon your own. As to the auditor, he was no longer on earth ; he was transported to those pure regions, whence descend dogmas and mysteries. And while the holy Catechist continued, new and clearer horizons opened to the mind's eye ; heaven and earth, present and future, things of time and things of eternity

[1] We owe the quotation from Rader's life, as also that from the Protestant H. Bohmer, to the excellent life of Canisius by L. Cristiani (Lecoffre, 1925), pp. 70 and 71.

appeared in a light in which it had never before regarded them." When a man fresh from the world and saturated with its ideas, opinions and maxims sat down to listen to this doctrine, he was first astonished and then confounded, so startling a defiance was it of the world and all the world holds dear. Little by little he relented, and ended in tears like the rest."[1]

What strikes us about the catechisms of the Curé, as about those of Canisius, is that the lesson conveyed is positive and elevating. Controversy is absent, yet if ever controversy were required, it would seem that the errors, of which these two saints had to combat the effects, demanded it. They refrained in their Catechisms from Apologetics, so congenial to the continental mind ; they believed that " truth is great and will prevail." They were convinced that in a garden planted with heavenly flowers there would be little room for the weeds of earth.

In 1896 the Editor of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* invited opinions on the desirability of a new Catechism : a national one. Subsequent issues of the *Record* contain the expression of various views. I have recently re-read a thoughtful letter written by one who signs himself " V." I do not know if he be still alive ; if he be, he has probably long lost those hopes which made him write twenty-nine years ago : " I am one of those who have been sighing for such a work these many years, and I hail its approaching completion with the highest satisfaction."

Perhaps it is not too much for us to hope that the canonization of these two Saints, whose appreciation of Catechetical work was so practical and so fruitful, will help to bring home the meaning of the appointment by the Pope of a special board to further the teaching of Christian doctrine, and perhaps the prospects of 1897 will materialise in our day. For the moment endless plans for material and social welfare are occupying the public mind. It is surely well that the dark days should be left behind us. But the best conceived plans will lead to nothing in the future, as they have accomplished nothing solid in the past, if the nation barters its spiritual heritage for material improvement, and becomes unmindful of the lesson of true values which the canonization of Canisius and Jean Baptist Vianney seeks to convey.

GEORGE BYRNE.

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[1] *Life of the Curé of Ars*, by A. Monnin, translated by B. Wolferstan (Sands, 1924), p. 425.

II—A Noteworthy Contribution to Historical Research

IN neither of our University libraries in Dublin, nor as far as I know in any public library in Ireland is to be obtained a copy of Braunsberger's Beati Petri Canisii S.J. Epistulae et Acta (8 Volumes, 1896–1923, Herder). The indefatigable Jesuit Otto Braunsberger has devoted the last 38 years of his life exclusively to the task of collecting and editing the huge correspondence and other documents of the great Catholic reformer Canisius, raised to the altars last month. This monumental work which is one of the greatest contributions to Catholic historical research in modern times, deserves from us the practical recognition at least of putting it within the reach of our University Students and Professors. Of Luther's literary remains there have been editions enough: Wittenberg, 1539 and foll; Halle, 1740 . . .; Erlangen, 1826 . . .; St. Louis, 1880 . . .; Weimar, 1883. But the work under notice excels even the most modern editions of Luther in accuracy and scientific worth; and the information contained within its volumes is of vast historical importance to the student of sixteenth-century Germany.

In 1864 on the occasion of the beatification of Peter Canisius, Fr. Riess, S.J., in Germany and Fr. Boero, S.J. in Italy, published a life of the first German Jesuit, and collected, apparently independently of each other, many of his letters with a view to publication. But the latter becoming Italian assistant under the Jesuit General Beck, Fr. Riess was entrusted with the work of editing all available epistolary remains of the Blessed. He died, however, before completing his task, in 1882: so too with Fr. Brischar +1883 and Fr. Kurte +1886. The giant work passed over then to the shoulders of a brilliant young scholar, Dr. Braunsberger. Born in 1850 in Bavaria, he was educated at the Benedictine Gymnasium at Metten. He had there the distinction of leading his class for eight consecutive years in the Intermediate Course, being awarded a gold "Denkmünze" from the King in recognition of this feat. His higher studies he completed at the Roman College and the Munich University and a few years after his ordination and doctorate he entered the Society of Jesus in 1876. The *Kulturkampf* was then at its height, so after his novitiate he was given an opportunity of developing further his scientific powers, at Wynansrade and Bijenbeck in Holland, and Ditton Hall in England. With a view to more direct preparation for his life work, he was sent in 1883 to Frankfort to the famous historian Janssen, who initiated him into the science of historical criticism and methodology. He was ready in 1887, fully equipped for his great task. The first years, 1888 to 1891, were

spent in journeying to the various archives and libraries of Europe, collecting or making transcripts of Canisius' letters in Germany, Holland, Belgium, England, France, Italy, Austria, Poland and Switzerland. His religious brethren in Sweden and Denmark, Spain and Portugal searched the archives and libraries of those lands and tendered him their results. The most fruitful finds of all came naturally from the archives of the Jesuit Order. He had access as well to the secret archives of the Vatican, to the Vatican library, and the State archives of Munich, Vienna, Innsbruck and Freiburg in Switzerland.

The plan of the work Fr. Braunsberger extended so as to include, beside Epistolary Documents from and to the Saint, contemporary testimony on his activities, passages from his countless addresses and sermons, information on his writings, etc.—all of which increases highly the scientific and practical value of the work. The study of the letters and acta is facilitated by the detailed chronological tables at the beginning of each volume, an accurate table giving the contents of the various documents, and most of all by very valuable notes full of information culled from rare books and manuscripts. An alphabetical list of names and subjects treated is added at the end of each Volume.

The eight volumes (a supplementary Volume is ready for the printer) appeared in the following order: Vol. I., 1896; Vol. II., 1898; III., 1901; IV., 1905; V., 1910; VI., 1913; VII., 1922; VIII, 1923.

J. J. C.

REVIEWS

Biography

IL BEATO ANTONIO MARIA GIANELLI VESCOVO DI BOBBIO, FONDATORE DELLE FIGLIE DI MARIA SS. DELL' ORTO. By Can. Luigi Sanguineti. Torino-Roma: Casa Editrice Marietti. 1925. L.22.

"THE greatest gift the Saints have given us is their own saintly life itself," says Père Monsabré somewhere; and it is the realisation of the profound truth of this aphorism which gives its chief value to the *Life* of the Blessed Antonio Gianelli, recently published by Canon Luigi Sanguineti, Professor in the Seminary of Chiavari, in preparation for the solemn Beatification of the saintly Bishop of Bobbio, which on the 19th April inaugurated the series of Beatifications and Canonisations of this Holy Year.

The characteristics of Gianelli's saintship have been well defined by no less an authority than the late Pope Benedict XV. The "heroicity" of his virtues consisted in no extraordinary actions or sufferings, but in the constant and perfect observance of the duties that fell to him in each state of life through which he successively passed: "In the figure of Antonio Gianelli the Church points out to us no emulator of the sojourners in the Thebaid; no victim of the persecutions of a modern Diocletian; no new apostle of the Indies. What she does point out to us is merely a dear little country lad, passing his boyhood in prayer and study; then a young seminarist, a model of diligence for his companions; next a young priest, his heart aflame, from the earliest days of his ministry, with the sacred fire; then a pastor so devoured by zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls that the limits of his own pastoral charge seem all too narrow for him; and finally a bishop, who reckons no cost too great in toil and care in the cultivation of the mystic field confided to him." Each of these phases of Gianelli's fifty-seven years of life (1789-1846) has been described with minute and loving care and detail by his biographer. It is as if the secrets of saintship had been translated into the language and experience of everyday modern life, so that each one of us might make ourselves masters of them—if we only would.

Beyond the appeal of his saintship, the new *Beato* has several claims on the interest of us Irish. In the first place, he was, for the last eight years of his saintly life, Bishop of Bobbio, the little Italian hill city, which owes its origin and fame to our own Saint Columbanus. To his devotion to our great countryman the modern cult

of the Saint, which reached its apogee in the Centenary Celebrations at Bobbio in the autumn of 1923, may be definitely traced. The most memorable event of his episcopacy was the restoration of the Shrine of St. Columbanus in 1844 ; the most enduring monument of his literary activities was the *Life of St. Columbanus*, which he wrote about the same period, for the instruction and edification of his own people, but which no student of the religious and cultural action of the famous Irish missioner can afford to neglect. There was much in common between the two saints, who, side by side, await the Resurrection in that old church by the Trebbia : the same iron will, the same warm heart, the same burning zeal for God and the souls God died to ransom. There are certain letters of Gianelli that might have been written by Columban himself.

HELENA CONCANNON.

THE LADY JULIAN. A Psychological Study. By Robert H. Thouless, M.A., Ph.D. London : S.P.C.K. 1924. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

THIS short volume in the English Theologians Series is a clear and rather good account of Juliana of Norwich from the point of view of " a teacher of psychology by profession and a disciple of the Church of England to which Julian herself belonged " (p. 13). We have thus modernity and Anglican continuity as the *leit-motif* of this brief monograph. I have some doubts that this anchoress of the fourteenth century would regard the Ecclesia Anglicana of 1373 as quite the same as the Church of England of which Dr. Hensley Henson and Dean Inge are such distinguished members, or that either of these divines would quite approve of the Lady Julian's mode of life. Yet it is very pleasant to observe how many Anglicans to-day are attracted towards modes of life and thought which would have filled their grandparents with horror.

Dr. Thouless is an excellent expositor. He has a rare gift of clear statement in these days when English philosophers are obsessed with the idea that " to be intelligible is to be found out." The reader knows where he stands, and must admire even when he disagrees. Although as a philosopher Dr. Thouless seems very much " other " than the contemporaries of Juliana, he has one feature in common with the great schoolmen who had organised in the preceding century the current thought of her period, the desire to adapt and readjust the most recent knowledge into the Christian system. He makes a most gallant and not wholly unsuccessful attempt to baptise psycho-analysis and make Freud and Jung wholesome.

In all these questions the main error of modern thought lies in

the attempt to find, in some part of man's material make-up, rather than in his spiritual part, a principle of unity to explain the whole man. The three concupiscences of the flesh, the eyes, and the pride of life are not reducible, save by a fiction, to that of the flesh alone. Gluttony as well as lust affects the spiritual life, and pride more than either. Three hundred years of Protestant tradition have blotted out from the minds of Englishmen the Catholic doctrine that the state of virginity is superior to the married state, and in ordinary speech the generic term "love" is used alike for the more specific terms "charity," "love" and "lust." Small wonder then that modern psychologists, seeking a common factor in the three, tend to reduce them all to sex more or less sublimated. A more fruitful line of thought would see in the lower forms of affectivity the degradation of higher types of feeling, and seek the explosions of the lower self in the perversions of the will originally upright. But then we would have to admit the Fall, and modern thought shies at that old-fashioned dogma. We venture to think that the Lady Julian would prefer this latter line of thought to that so very ably set out in Chapter V. of this very interesting and most readable monograph. JOHN HOWLEY.

BIENHEUREUX JOURDAIN DE SAXE. Lettres à la B. Diane D'Andalo. (1222—1236). Traduction nouvelle avec notes historiques et annexes par Marguerite Aron. Lille-Bruges: Desclée, de Brouwer & Cie. 1924. 4fr. 50.

AMONG the many friendships that have existed between saintly personages of both sexes, one—of singular beauty—has only now been revealed to us by the publication in French of fifty letters addressed by Bl. Jordanus of Saxony, General of the Order of Preachers after the death of St. Dominic, to Bl. Diane d'Andalo, the young foundress of the Dominican convent of St. Agnes, outside the walls of Bologna. These letters are from every point of view of exceptional interest. Historically they give a vivid picture of the rapid rise of the Order. It is noteworthy that the appeal of the Dominicans at this time—in direct contrast to that of the Franciscans—was frankly to the educated and even learned section of society: it is only by the way that we hear of preaching also "to the people." Thus the letters relate how picked young men from the Universities—Padua, Paris, Oxford, Bologna—inspired by the preaching of Jordanus relinquish brilliant worldly careers and offer themselves, twenty and thirty at a time, as postulants to the Friars Preachers. Jordanus sets great store on the prayers of the enclosed nuns in forwarding his work for souls, and he never fails

to tell them of the successes of his ceaseless travelling and preaching throughout Western Europe. In vividness of phraseology and directness of narrative these letters, written originally in Latin, reveal in their author a real literary gift, and this feature of them has been most happily preserved by the translator.

But above all we have, in these letters, the revelation of two highly gifted and spiritual natures, both pressing forward to closer union with God. Diane D'Andalo had taken the veil when barely of age—her entrance into the religious life was as difficult and dramatic as that of St. Clare herself—and throughout the fourteen years of her cloistered life she was protected and directed by Jordanus. We gather that, if she had a fault, it was an over-zealous haste after perfection both for her companions and herself, and in wise words Bl. Jordanus repeatedly warns her against "excessive and indiscreet mortifications" and recalls her to prudence and moderation. He exhorts her ceaselessly to patience, to detachment, to diligence in prayer, and above all to an intense personal love of her celestial Spouse. We gain a glimpse of the difficulties that encompassed the religious women of the Order in these early days. St. Agnes's was the third convent of nuns authorised by St. Dominic before his death, but many of the friars regarded the direction of women as a nuisance and as a distraction from the true aims of the Order, and it required at times all the authority of the General to protect the nuns of St. Agnes from cramping regulations. Thus the situation called out all the chivalry of his nature in addition to his spiritual zeal for souls whom he was training in the mystical way. In his letters to Diane we find expressions of a very real and sometimes playful tenderness —"J'ai mal à votre pied," he writes to her on learning that she has injured her foot—and reiterated regrets at their long separations give a personal and intimate note to a correspondence that is none the less maintained at a high spiritual level.

The friends had not the consolation of meeting during their last years on earth. It is improbable that Jordanus ever visited Bologna after the General Chapter of 1233, but at least Diane was spared the sorrow of knowing that he was never to return from the Holy Land whither he journeyed in the summer of 1236, for she herself died at Bologna in the same year. These letters, by a happy accident, have been preserved for the intervening seven centuries in the library of the Order in Rome. V.M.C.

MISCELLANEA HAGIOGRAPHICA HIBERNICA. Vitae adhuc ineditae sanctorum. By Charles Plummer, A.M. Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes. 1925.

THIS book may be considered a supplement or appendix to Dr. Plummer's previous works on the Irish Saints. Having edited a collection of Latin Lives in 1910, he brought out a number of corresponding Irish documents with English translations in 1922. The present volume contains three specimens of Irish hagiography, all preserved in the famous O'Clery manuscripts in the Royal Library, Brussels. They are the Lives of MacCreiche, Naile, and Cranat. The second and third of these are imperfect, as the scribal notes at the end indicate, and the first, though one of the longest works of its kind, is very unhistorical, and leaves the subject of it a very shadowy character indeed. But it is a satisfaction to have the great labours of the editor rounded off, and to be in possession of so great an amount of Brother Michael's collections, to whose memory, in connection with that of Father John Colgan, O.F.M., Dr. Plummer appropriately dedicates the volume before us.

As to the local and other associations of the three Saints, MacCreiche, if we are to judge from the Life, was a native of Thomond, where his name survives in Kilmacrehy, a parish in the barony of Corcumroe in county Clare. Certain references made to him in other parts of our literature point to the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century as his period. The annals have no mention of him. O'Clery assigns no date for his feast in his *Martyrology of Donegal*. These items form nearly all the evidence we have. It is no wonder that the editor looks upon the existence of MacCreiche as "shadowy enough." But the Life will be of interest and value in other branches of study, for example, topography, folklore, and philology. Dr. Plummer's accuracy in the presentation of texts of this nature can be relied on, and his translation, notes, and indexes have been made with great care.

Naile, the subject of the second Life, gave name to Inbher Naile, now Inver in county Donegal, but his principal associations are with Kinawley (=Cell Naile), a parish which is mainly in Fermanagh and extends into Cavan, and with Devenish where he is said to have been abbot for nine years. It is interesting to note that Brother Michael copied this fragment from a Tirconnell manuscript which belonged to Niall Meirgeach, *the son* of MacSweeney Banagh. Dr. Plummer goes astray in regard to this individual at page 99. He thinks it is he who was slain in 1588. That cannot be the case, for that Niall Meirgeach was chieftain, whereas the owner of the manuscript was only son of a chief when the book was

transcribed. And there was another person of the name, son of the last chief of Banagh, Donogh 1588–1633 ; see *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne*, §§ 130, 148, 151.

The third Life in this book, that of Cranat, patron of Cell Cranatan, in the ancient district of Fir Muighe (Fermoy), is a mere fragment. It is printed from an O'Clery manuscript, with variants from another now in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, written by Domhnall O'Duinnin for Father Francis O'Mahony, Provincial of the Irish Friars Minor in 1627. Dr. Plummer always refers to this latter scribe as Dinneen. There is an inconsistency in this, perhaps even an ambiguity. Nobody writes "Michael Clery" nowadays, and the other should have been called O Duinnin.

The last chapter is entitled "A tentative Catalogue of Irish Hagiography." It is certain to be of the highest value to all future workers in this sphere. Its contents may be briefly indicated in the author's own words : "It is divided into six sections. The first consists of Irish Lives of Irish Saints. The second contains shorter stories and anecdotes. The third section consists of Irish tracts on general Irish Hagiography, Martyrologies, Genealogies, etc. ; the fourth of historical Hymns and Poems. The fifth section deals with Latin Lives of Irish Saints. In the sixth and last section I have given a list of Irish Lives of non-Irish Saints ; they are all translations from the Latin." This work presents notes accumulated in years of study. It draws on vast manuscript sources extending in point of age from the ninth to the nineteenth century, and now scattered in libraries in Ireland, Britain, France, Belgium, and even farther abroad. Nobody but Dr. Plummer could have produced such a work. Of course all documents in print coming within its scope are recorded. Here the author acknowledges "great assistance" from Dr. Best's pioneer work *Bibliography of Irish Philology and of Printed Irish Literature* (1913). In the Index of Places at the end Nepotes Neill is by a slip wrongly explained as the Southern O'Neills. The work has been handsomely printed in Belgium, and the Society of the Bollandists have issued it as No. 14 of their *Subsidia Hagiographica*. PAUL WALSH.

SAINT MADELEINE SOPHIE BARAT (1779-1865). By Maud Monahan. London : Longmans, Green, and Co. 1925. Pp. x., 105. 3*s.* 6*d.*

THIS well-balanced sketch of the life and work of a foundress of a great teaching Institute, which has spread over the whole world, is particularly valuable because of the space which it allots to educational work, and because within that space it provides a

real account of the work in the schoolroom and out of it, that was undertaken and carried out under the leadership of the saint canonised in May, 1925. Madeleine Sophie Barat was a child of the little village of Joigny, a field-worker in the country around it. But any surprise at the type of educational work which she later organised is much lessened when we learn that she was trained to read Latin, Greek, Spanish, and Italian while still a child there : and that to this strong fare was added a considerable education in Mathematics. More than a fifth of this narrative (pp. 57-78) is devoted to details of schoolwork and the ideals that unified and elevated them : it is pleasant to learn how the various currents of the Renaissance system united to form this new stream of progressive effort, and that Jouvency had a leading place among the sources, as became the finest representative of Renaissance education that France ever produced. There are manifold and most promising signs to-day that the education of Catholic girls in France is being raised in these years, 1924-1925, to the high levels of French tradition, particularly in respect of classical studies : it is of no little significance that this restoration of standards coincides in time with the canonisation of the girl, classical scholar and modern scholar at once, who worked in the vineyards of Joigny before the Revolution. The official documentary records now confessedly show that the French Revolution brought a disastrous lowering of standards and effort in education, most of all in popular education : and France has not yet quite recovered from this national calamity. It is well that the forward movement, on part of Catholic France, now happily begun, can avail itself of so resplendent a personal example of both scholarship and sanctity. T. C.

Classics

PLATO : EUTHYPHRO, APOLOGY, AND CRITO. Edited with Notes by John Burnet. Oxford : Clarendon Press ; London : Milford. 1924. 8*s.* 6*d.*, net.

THIS little book is a part fulfilment of a promise made by Prof. Burnet in the Preface to the third edition of his " Early Greek Philosophy " (1920) to make good his views on the relations of Socrates and Plato to each other and the Pythagoreans, and in general to establish Socrates as a historical character in the setting of his period by a fresh interpretation in detail of the Platonic dialogues. His views are already well known to scholars from the above-mentioned work, from his edition of the *Phaedo*, and from his volume " Greek Philosophy : Thales to Plato " ; the present book does little more than emphasise various aspects of them.

In general, Prof. Burnet's views are those of Prof. Taylor, his colleague : that Socrates was in his youth a disciple of Archelaos, the successor of Anaxagoras, whose condemnation Prof. Taylor has set back to before 450 B.C. ; that this side of his activity is lampooned in the *Clouds*, which also gives a true picture of him as head of a semi-Pythagorean sect ; that the picture given by the *Clouds* and by Plato in his early dialogues agree in substance, whereas Xenophon either borrows from Plato or moralises in an unhistorical way. These views would have seemed very unorthodox to the nineteenth century editors, and indeed are still far from being universally accepted ; but the old Hegelian view, that Xenophon alone gives us a true picture of Socrates, has been attacked from very many quarters and may be regarded as given up. Where Professors Burnet and Taylor are now most revolutionary is in their acceptance of the *Phaedo* with the dialogues before us as giving not a history of Plato's own experiences nor a purely Platonic legend of a highly glorified Socrates, but an account of a real figure and of opinions really held by him which, allowing for literary and stylistic considerations, is substantially accurate.

To the present reviewer it seems that the case for this attitude is very strong, and that in particular Prof. Burnet has for the first time given us an intelligible account of Socrates' views regarding the soul and its destiny. His notes on the passages towards the end of the *Apology*, where Socrates talks about the next world, bring out most strikingly the originality of these views from the ordinary Athenian standpoint, and their clear kinship with Orphic doctrines. There are probably many details on which scholars will disagree widely with Prof. Burnet, and especially he must still satisfy those who consider that he is sacrificing Plato for Socrates, and must give us some clearer account of what he thinks Plato's *own* teaching to have been, than we have in his "Greek Philosophy." But on the whole his work is a welcome protest against the nihilism of the 19th century, which in every domain of scholarship tended to leave us nothing but the *ipse-dixits* of a Wolf or a Lachmann, or later of a Wilamowitz, and the accusation of invincible ignorance if we did not accept them.

From the point of view of the student, the book before us is in every way admirable. Prof. Burnet is a master of everything pertaining to Greek, and his discussion of the legal aspects of Socrates' trial, of the *daimonion*, of the motives of Socrates' accusers, and of innumerable lesser points, leaves hardly anything to be desired. Where he cannot give full information owing to lack of space, he stimulates study in the quest for more. In par-

ticular his treatment of the *Apology* as a parody of rhetorical efforts, which he has adopted from Riddell and elaborated, opens up many avenues for discussion and examination. His method of dealing with previous editors is often vigorous, but never distasteful. We wish him life and health to continue his labours, and hope he will be spared to edit many more Platonic dialogues. If he would give us a book on Orphism—that would be a boon indeed.

M. T.

HERODOTUS. By T. R. Glover: Published for the University of California by the Cambridge University Press. 1924. 18*s.* net.

DR. GLOVER has written so many delightful books that one always looks forward to a new one by him with pleasant anticipations; and when one learns that the present volume consists of a series of lectures delivered under the same auspices as those which made another delightful book, Prof. John A. Scott's *The Unity of Homer*, the anticipations become almost a longing. There is no disappointment awaiting those who can afford to pay the price of Dr. Glover's book—it is an easy causerie, which puts great learning before us in its course, and should set very many people to read Herodotus again.

There is no "Herodotische Frage"—at least not for modern readers, because Plutarch had a particular bee in his bonnet about him—and so Dr. Glover's method is much more urbane and less vigorous than Professor Scott's. But the two are alike in extreme devotion to the cause of their author Plutarch, and such modern writers as have been sceptical about Herodotus' veracity—they are growing fewer—are Dr. Glover's foes, and he enters upon a right knightly combat against them. But his book is much more than an *apologia*: it gives us a clear and fascinating picture of the setting in which Herodotus wrote, his city and the life in an Anatolian seaport in the fifth century B.C.; his family, including his cousin Panyasis, epic poet and seer—who may have been a Carian, and thus gave Herodotus both inspiration and broad-mindedness; his predecessors in history, and the manner in which he composed his book; the previous history of Greece, and its dealings with the Lydians, Egyptians, and Persians; the nations of far-off countries and Greek ideas of geography, Greek ideas of Freedom, and finally the climax of the Persian Wars. His last chapter rounds off the whole with an essay on the religious views of Herodotus; and as this is a subject on which Dr. Glover has written much already, his competence to deal with it is unquestioned. During the course

of his essay he stops to take issue with "a recent Roman Catholic writer" in whom will be recognised a brilliant Irish priest; but here, as elsewhere, he does not delay, nor does he say enough to make a controversy.

From the whole book there emerges a conception of Herodotus which, while taking due account of his natural limitations, emphasises rightly his shrewd commonsense, his catholic sympathy and insatiable thirst for knowledge of every kind, and his very real merits as a historian. He was neither a liar, as Plutarch and Professor Sayce have said, nor a cynic, as Professor Bury thought, nor yet a naive simpleton, with no gift except the sudden flowering of his splendid prose style. He was in many ways not unlike some earlier modern historians, particularly of the Renaissance time—at once wise and simple, and above all, *Philanthropos*, a lover of humanity no matter where he found it. In Dr. Glover he has found an expositor not unlike himself, and it is to be hoped that this book will make many friends and admirers for them both. M. T.

THEORY OF ADVANCED GREEK PROSE COMPOSITION. With Digest of Greek Idioms. By John Donovan, S.J., M.A. Volumes II. and III. Oxford: Blackwell. 1922-1924. 7*s.* and 5*s.* respectively.

After some years at Greek Prose Composition, the broken-hearted undergraduate tends to develop towards the makers of Composition books an attitude akin to that of the "farmer's boy" towards the circus juggler. He sits on the benches, with his hands in his pockets, and, however fascinating the entertainment provided, refuses to enthuse. His scepticism is the product of a painful experience. Time and again, he has been captivated by the conjuror's performance; he has seen the Macaulayan idioms go into the silk hat, and the Thucydidean emerge a moment after. But, somehow, *that* only occurred in professorial silk hats: his meaner headgear never responded to his hey presto. No! until he has seen what goes on in the silk hat, he refuses to pay any further attention.

Luckily, Fr. Donovan is ready to take us at our own valuation. Like those generous amateur entertainers who show us the mechanism of their every trick, he will let us see the whole contents of his silk hat. Slowly and patiently he takes us through the intricacies of his subject, pausing at each step to explain, and confirming his conclusions with a host of citations.

Vos exemplaria Graeca
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna
Graiis dedit ingenium Graiis dedit ore rotundo
Musa loqui.

—he counsels, at the end of the Third volume, and it might have been the dedication of the whole. He may well preach, who has so faithfully practised.

We have it from his own pen that, "when this treatise was being planned and prepared, the author was engaged in teaching sixth form boys." If we have lost faith in previous composition books, it is because they lack the quality which this work has in a pre-eminent degree—the experience of a trained teacher. It is not the profession of a University professor to be a pedagogue ; and most of the Greek Composition books have been written by University professors. Their suggestions were too often merely theoretical ; but in Fr. Donovan's work we find a sympathy with our difficulties, that must readily enlist our confidence.

The treatise is divided into three volumes, and into three parts (the parts however, do not coincide with the volumes) ; but the logical division is into two parts, viz., Fundamental Differences and Minor Differences. Part I. (occupying the First volume, and more than half of the Second) deals with the First Fundamental Difference —the Predominance of the English Substantive. Part II. (occupying the remaining 80 pages of the Second volume) deals with the other Fundamental Differences : the greater Realism, Directness, Precision, Lucidity of Greek ; the Predominance of the Figurative in English. Part III. (which coincides with the Third volume) deals with Minor Differences, and includes excellent chapters on Oratio Obliqua, Relative Clauses, Tense and Voice, and the Connective Particles. "As this treatise pertains rather to the *bene esse* than to the *esse* of Greek Prose, it will appeal more to the advanced student than to beginners. It touches on points of scholarship neglected, if not altogether overlooked, in certain Grammars." (Author's Introduction to the Third volume).

It is much to be regretted that Fr. Donovan has abandoned his original intention, of publishing an exercise-book to accompany the "Theory." His happy renderings throughout the three volumes have convinced us that, if we were to acquiesce without protest in his sentiment, that "anybody could compile such a book" as well as he, we should have ourselves to blame for being deprived of an important part of his work. Especially since, in such an exercise-book, he would have scope for some suggestions on method —suggestions which the "Theory" of its nature could not include. Is it too late to ask Fr. Donovan to reconsider his decision ?

P. S.

Education

PSYCHOLOGIE ET PSYCHOTHERAPIE EDUCATIVES. Par l'Abbé Arnauld D'Angel et Dr. d'Espiney. Paris : Pierre Téqui, 82 Rue Bonaparte, VIe. 1924. Pp. 608. 12 fr.

THIS methodical and comprehensive volume is a highly useful addition to Catholic works on the educative process. It is a good deal wider in range than Père de la Vaissière's well-known work entitled *Psychologie Pédagogique*, and it by no means limits itself to the severely scientific presentation and extreme conciseness of style in which the earlier summary of observations and results was written. Perhaps this greater diffuseness of style and wider amplitude of comment and direction will make it a work of wider, though not more reliable, service and success.

The usual categories of psychological analysis, sensation, memory, imagination, attention, will, emotional activities, are all traversed, and while there is not much in these chapters that is novel, they are substantially developed and up-to-date. Among systems of infant education, those of Montessori and of Claparede receive most attention, and the authors of this volume here show themselves amply capable of discrimination, as in the section (p. 227) on the vulnerable central doctrine and aims of the Montessori methods. Of other Continental centres which have produced valuable experimental results (those of Brussels and Antwerp, for instance) adequate use has hardly been made. The value of the Kindergarten system, as retaining the leadership and inspiration of an effective teacher, is properly emphasised (pp. 190-211).

The title of the volume, however, shows a much wider angle of vision than that of the traditional psychology of education. The second part of the work, devoted to the curative development of undesirable tendencies, is of marked importance. There is a good deal on the educational use of suggestion, and a long and accurate survey of the doctrines of Freud in relation to training of children, characterised by an unusually objective process of exposition joined to careful comment. A special value of these chapters lies in the fact that they are by no means a series of labels and learned terms, but aim at effective presentation of claims and values in practical detail. This section is preceded by three chapters on the Unconscious, on Vocational Psychology, and on Regionalism in Education. They are valuable and suggestive, but by no means complete or exhaustive. The whole work is amply indexed, and

there is a good list of sources. On the whole, the work can be commended to Catholic students as a highly useful guide, written in a clear if somewhat oratorical style. T. C.

PSYCHOLOGIE DE L'ENFANT : entre quatre et sept ans. Par V. Rasmussen. Translated from the Danish, with preface by Harald Hoffding. Paris : Alcan. 1924. Pp. vii., 221. Price, 10 fr. net.

PEDAGOGIE EXPERIMENTALE : Ecriture, Lecture, Orthographie. Par Dr. Th. Simon. Paris : Colin. 1924. Pp. 275. Price, 8 fr.

THE more objective part of Professor Rasmussen's work has long been favourably known to workers in experimental education. Thus the sections on drawing, on the interpretation of pictures, on the five or six classical divisions of experimental psychology, will all be found very useful. But the whole inspiration of the pages on religion in the period of 4-7 years of age (pages 28-48), and the concluding section on morality among children, are of more than dubious provenance. The "new tests" which are described (pp. 132-144) must be appraised as new in the pre-war period : in the bibliography, which is Continental and American almost exclusively, only two works by O. Jesperson and S. Monrad are of later date than 1913.

Dr. Simon's work belongs to the school of Binet, and is much more serviceable for average work in infant schools. The processes of reading, spelling, and writing, when all is said and done, are vital ones in education up to 14 years of age. The presentation of processes, tests, results, and the discussion of rival theories is effective and fairly complete : the whole work is also of exceptional interest by reason of the entire omission of any reference to investigations that claim to be scientific, but which the Binet Society and Dr. Simon evidently hold to be lacking in that character. The processes of experimentation are fully set out in this volume, which is a summary survey of great practical utility and of valuable comment that severely sets aside all philosophical verbiage and profuseness of mere nomenclature. T. C.

Scripture

EVANGILE SELON SAINT MATTHIEU. Traduit et commenté par le Père Alfred Durand, S.J.

EVANGILE SELON SAINT MARC. Traduit et commenté par le Père Joseph Huby, S.J.

Paris : Beauchesne. 1924. 14 fr. each.

THE NEW TESTAMENT. Volume IV. Part I. : The Epistle to the Hebrews. By Rev. Patrick Boylan, M.A., D.Litt., D.D. Part II. : The Pastoral and Johannine Epistles. By Rev. Francis Gigot, S.T.D. The Epistles of SS. James, Peter, Jude. By the Rev. W. H. Kent, O.S.C. Part III. : The Apocalypse of St. John. By Rev. Francis Gigot. London : Longmans. 1924. Parts I-II., 5*s.* net (wrapper) ; 6*s.* net (boards). Part III., 1*s.* 6*d.* and 2*s.* net.

Pere Durand's St. Matthew is the first of a projected series of commentaries on the New Testament. To judge by this first volume, the series, which has been entitled *Verbum Salutis*, promises to be very helpful. As compared with previously existing commentaries, the place of the present series seems to come midway between such highly elaborate and, so to speak, technical works as the *Cursus Scripturae Sacrae* of the German Jesuits, Fathers Cornely, Knabenbauer, and Hummelaner, or the *Etudes Bibliques* of the Dominican School of St. Etienne at Jerusalem and editions with brief notes, such as Crampon's and Fillion's or Scripture Manuals for Schools, such as those edited by Father Rickaby or those by Madame Cecilia. For, on the one hand, the commentary under review omits the whole apparatus of textual criticism ; its introduction is limited to fourteen pages ; it has no references except to other parts of Holy Scripture ; and it contains neither Greek nor Latin. On the other hand, it runs to 500 closely printed pages and is full of biblical lore.

This being so, the series is clearly intended for educated laymen, though it would also be very useful to priests. It is admirably adapted to its purpose. The page, instead of being broken up into fragments and bespattered with references and with Latin and Greek words and sentences, reads smoothly and continuously. A definite section of the text is given in French. Then the commentary follows, the words of the sacred text being distinguished by italics ; the commentary is never diffuse nor rambling nor encumbered by useless erudition : it goes straight for the real difficulties. Nor is the reader bewildered by conflicting interpretations, different opinions being referred to only in a few passages that are difficult and at the same time of great importance.

It is a scholarly work. The author taught Scripture for twenty-five years, wrote for the principal biblical periodicals, contributed to the *Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Catholique*, and published an important book, *L'Enfance de Jésus Christ*. We may take it that his commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel is a competent and reliable piece of work.

The second volume of the series, the commentary on St. Mark, is by Père Durand's successor in the professorship of Holy Scripture at the French Jesuit House of Studies, Ore Place, Hastings. Père Huby is the originator and general editor of the series, as he was of the important work on the history of religions which appeared some years ago under the title *Christus*. In the preface to the present work he defines the scope of these commentaries : " It has been composed by a Catholic for Catholics, to help them to understand and to savour the Gospel. . . . It has been written, not for specialists, but for a wider public. Consequently, discussions of a technical nature have been cut down to a minimum." Eschewing controversy, as far as possible, the author has devoted himself to what he describes as " exegèse sereine " and " simple et tranquille exposition."

We are glad to welcome Vol. IV., just completed, of the Westminster Version of the New Testament. In reviewing Vol. III. in these pages we pointed out the general merits of the new translation —its clearness, its modern yet dignified English, its scholarliness, its brief but really helpful introductions and notes, its excellent typography. The same features are present in the volume before us. One portion of it—Dr. Boylan's translation of the Epistle to the Hebrews, has already been reviewed in *Studies*. Another, Dr. Gigot's Apocalypse, appeared in fascicle some years ago. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the remaining portions. Instead of describing the translation in general terms, we think it better to give some samples of it, side by side with the Douay Version (*D.*).

From the First Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy :—

D. Let a widow be chosen of no less than threescore years of age who hath been the wife of one husband.

W. A widow, to be placed upon the roll [as an object of the Church's charity] must be not less than sixty years old, and have married but once.

D. But the younger widows avoid. For when they have grown wanton in Christ they will marry : having damnation because they have made void their first faith.

W. As for younger widows, reject them ; for when they have waxed wanton against Christ, they wish to marry, and thus incur the guilt of breaking their first troth.

D. Which furnish questions rather than the edification of God which is in faith.

W. Such as promote discussions rather than the dispensation of God through faith.

D. Doing nothing by inclining to either side.

W. Doing naught through partiality.

From the Epistle of St. James :—

D. For God is not a tempter of evils and he tempteth no man.
W. For God cannot be tempted to evil things ; and himself tempteth no man.
D. To envy doth the spirit covet which dwelleth in you.
W. The Spirit which he hath made to dwell in us yearneth over us jealously.

From the First Epistle of St. Peter :—

D. Desire the rational milk without guile.
W. Yearn for uncontaminated spiritual milk.
D. But the hidden man of the heart in the uncorruptibility of a quiet and meek spirit, which is rich in the sight of God.
W. But let it be the hidden life of the heart, in the imperishable meekness and peace of the spirit, which is precious in the sight of God.

The Greek word rendered " conversation " in the Douay Version is in the Westminster everywhere rendered " behaviour," " conduct," or " way of life," to the great improvement of the sense.

We must be prepared for a certain amount of alteration in the wording of familiar texts. Thus James i. 17 reads : " Every good gift and every perfect boon is from above, it cometh down from the father of lights, in whose shining is no change such as maketh the shadow to turn." And 1 Tim. iii. 15 : . . . " The household of God, which is the very church of the living God, the pillar and stay of the truth."

The number of passages is considerable in which the new version makes clear and smooth what in the Douay was clumsy, obscure, or ambiguous. For this we cannot be too grateful to the Westminster translators. S. J. B.

WHERE WE GOT THE BIBLE. Our Debt to the Catholic Church. By Right Rev. Henry G. Graham D.D. London and Edinburgh : Sands. Second revised ed. 1924. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.

Like many other movements, good and evil, that have strongly influenced men the Reformation has created a Legend. Popular tradition, aided by the partisan writer and the eulogist, has interwoven with a few sober strands of historic truth many a multicoloured thread of the imagination. We are as familiar with the Reformation Legend as we are with the Legend of Ancient Rome or the Napoleonic Legend or the Glorious and Immortal Memory—to say nothing of the exquisite Franciscan Legend.

In the Reformation Legend there is nothing that looms larger than the Bible. Even those of us who are wholly unacquainted with Protestant religious literature must have happened upon it time and again in popular histories (including Macaulay and Green),

in essays, periodicals, and fiction—how the Holy Book was corrupted well-nigh beyond recognition, feared and despised, kept shut up in a dead language, forbidden to the common people—how, in fact, it was as good as lost to mankind till the Reformers rediscovered it, brought it to the light of day, translated it into the vulgar tongues, and placed it in the hands of the people.

Upon this Legend Dr. Henry Gray Graham, Bishop of Edinburgh, turns the pitiless light of history. As a convert he is thoroughly familiar with the Legend in all its varieties and is able to demolish it thoroughly. But it must not be thought that this little book presents none but a purely controversial interest. On the contrary it deals in an admirably clear and comprehensive way with the whole question of the relations between the Church and that inspired record which for all time Christ committed to her keeping. Though the author modestly disclaims profound scholarship, his little book is full of information. Catholics will gain much by reading it. And we are glad to assure them that they will find it most readable. S. J. B.

THE PSALMS. A Study of the Vulgate Psalter in the Light of the Hebrew Text. By Rev. Patrick Boylan, M.A., D.Litt., D.D. Volume II. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1924. 17*s.* 6*d.* net.

IN his preface to the second volume of his commentary on the Psalms, Dr. Boylan indicates that in this volume he has slightly altered his original plan. In deference to the advice of friendly critics of his first volume, he has given in the second " more detailed information as to the probable occasion, the literary structure and thought-sequence, and the doctrinal implications of each Psalm."

The changes introduced in the second volume are not of such a kind as to mar the unity of the work. The main lines of the original plan are still followed very faithfully. The introductions in the second volume, though a little more elaborate than those in the first, deal with exactly the same subjects. The translations and notes are perfectly uniform in the two volumes.

When we turn from the plan to the execution, we can find even less difference between the two volumes. The high standard of excellence set in the first volume is fully maintained in the second. On every page of his work Dr. Boylan has given proofs of his accurate scholarship and power of lucid exposition.

In his translations Dr. Boylan has used the Hebrew text with great discretion to light up the dark places of the Vulgate. Wherever he has substituted a rendering of the Hebrew for a rendering of the Latin, he has done so for excellent reasons, which are fully

explained in his notes. Thus, in Psalm 89^9 the Vulgate has: *Anni nostri sicut aranea meditabuntur.* Dr. Boylan rightly translates in accordance with the Massoretic text: "Our years we consume like a sigh." The "meditative spider" is derived ultimately from an obviously inferior Hebrew text of this passage.

The author might even have allowed himself a little more liberty in using the Hebrew text to improve his translation. As an instance, we may refer to Psalm 73^2. Here the Vulgate has: *Redemisti virgam haereditatis tuae.* The corresponding Hebrew text, as Dr. Boylan points out in his notes, is to be translated: "Thou didst redeem as the *nation* of thy inheritance." The Vulgate clearly presupposes a Hebrew text identical with ours, but does not translate it quite correctly. We should, therefore, prefer to see the Hebrew text followed exactly in the translation of this passage.

When the translation corresponds to the Hebrew rather than the Vulgate text, we think that the fact could with advantage be indicated in the translation itself, *e.g.*, by the use of italics. The reader would thus be warned, from the outset, of the uselessness of trying to reconcile the translation with the Latin text. This warning would be appreciated even by those whose knowledge of Latin is above reproach.

P. Bartley.

Books in Irish

CUID CEATHRAMHNACHA OMAIR CAIGHIAIM. Do réir Bhéarla Eamoin Mhic Ghearailt. Le h-Antoin Mac A' Bháird: Cló-Lucht an Tálbóidigh, Teor: 2s. glan.

Molaim t' iarracht a Antóin! Ba mhór an ghuais-bheart uait é, gan amhras, gan contabhairt, a chur romhat draoidheacht is sáimhbhriocht fhilíochta Ómair shaoilsigh, shádhail, mhacnasaigh, lídhealbhaigh allánaigh, do thabhairt leat i nGaedhilg na Rosann. Munab é ainbhfios na canamhna san fá deara dhom é, ni dóigh liom gur éirigh leat acht go leathchuibheasach. Bhí do shoitheach ró-chumhang, ró-chaol, ró-éadoimhin chuige, dar liom-sa. Ní fhágann san thú gan slacht is séimhe smaoine an údair do chur in iúl go glinn, gasta, uaireanta, maille le sáir-dhiúide fhriotail. A fhiadhnaise so ar:—

Fa dhíon na gcraobh fa shógh le h-aran 's fíon,
Leabhar laoi i ndóid as tusa, a stór mo chroidh'
'Gabhail cheoil san fhásach damh go gáirdeach binn
Ba leor mar Phárrthas sógh na mbáinseach faol.

(Cé nach maith liom dhá "fa" san na chéad líne).

Dálta a láin filíochta eile, dhá mhinice léightear an t-ionntó

so Antóin, is eadh is fearr le duine é. Gan amhras, ámh, taithneochaidh sé le Tír-Chonallaigh ón gcéad iarracht. Na dhiaidh sin, is mór an feall linne, le muintir eile na Fódhla, nach i nGaedhilg na h-Eireann do h-ionntaigheadh an dán.

Tá cló an leabhair ar fheabhas agus clúdach deas, righin éadaigh uaine air.

BURDUIN BHEAGA : (.i. "ceathramhna comhgaracha gonta i meadaracht amhráin") ar na gcruinniú agus ar na gcur in eagar ag Tomás Ó Rathailligh : Brún agus Nualán. 1925. 2s.

TA an domhan Fódhla fé chomaoin mhiór eile ag Tomás, scoláire. Na Búrdúin seo do chuir aoibhneas croidhe orainn cheana de réir mar foillsightí iad san "Irish Monthly," ba mhaith an smaoine uaidh iad do chur ar fáil dúinn i gceann a chéile.

"Ag so an chráifeacht ghlan . . . . " ar San Séamus, "neach dhá choiméad féin gan cháidhe ón tsaoghal "—"Más mian leat bheith díadha ná géill don tsaoghal " an crot do chuir an file Gaodhlach ar an smaoine chéadna. "Ní féidir d'aoinne rud do dhéanamh ar dhá mháighistir " arsa caint na ndaoine ; "Dhá thighearna do riaradh ní héidir d'aon " an rud céadna i gcaint na bhfilí. Is iomdha aiste agus tráchtas atá ar na fhoillsiú le tríochaid bliadhan d'fhonn soiscéal Connartha na Gaedhilge do chur in iúl do chách. Cad deir an nua-choiste leis seo :—

"Ní h-í an Eire seo an Eire do bhí anall-ód ann
Acht Eire lucht Béarla agus anstró Gall,
Eire gan éifeacht, 's í in anró fann
Eire gan Ghaedhilg, 's is searbh leo rann."

Cad deir an Nua-choiste Gnótha leis seo mar armus nó suaitheantas an Úr-chonnartha ? Ba mhaith an ní Búrdún a 24 do chló-bhualadh ar chártaí agus a chur ar ollamhna na tíre gan Ghaedhilg cárta aca do shíor-iomchar ar a n-éadan ar nós "Fiolactairí" na bhFairisíneach !

Seadh ! d'aimhdheoin do bháidhe doi-leighiste leis an mBéarla id chuid ghluaiseann, d'aimhdheoin do chaithimh mhilltigh i ndiaidh an chló Rómhánaigh, d' aimhdheoin do modha litrithe is do chuid "símplíochta," táimid fíor-bhuidheach díot, a Thomáis, agus fá mhór-chomaoin agat !

Do rinne muintir Brúin agus Nualáin a roinnt féin den obair go cliste, cúramach. Chídhtear domhsa, ámh, go bhfuighdís clúdach righin, éadaigh, do sholáthar dúinn ar an luach.

AR LORG AN RIOGH AGUS SCEALTA EILE. le Pádhraic Ó Domhnalláin : Mac Guill 's a Mhac. 102 leath. Trí raolacha glan, 1925.

Seacht scéalta atá sa leabhar so Phádhraic, iad uile ar fheabhas maidir le damhna agus (ní gábhadh a rádh) maidir leis an gcroicean do chuir an t-údar ortha. Ní h-amháin sin, acht tá a dó nó a trí aca ar na scéalta is fearr dár léigheas-sa riamh. Cuir i gcás an chéad scéal—Ar Lorg an Riogh—agus an ceann deireanach—Sean-bhean Ogumhalla—ba dheacair iad do shárú. Deir an t-údar gur fíor cuid de na scéalta so. Ní fheadar an bhfuil an buille scuir seo ar na ceannaibh fíora ? Tá a chrot san air, agus do b'fhearr liomsa ná mórán go mb'fhíor é. Traoslaighim óm chroidhe dhuit d'iarracht, a Phádhraic na gcarad ! Sás mór-áthais domh-sa do chuid shaothair bheith dhá thiomargadh is dhá chur ar fáil d'aos-óg léighimh na tíre, óir an peann úd agat-sa tá sé ar na peanna Gaedhalacha is líomhtha d'ár ré-ne ar aon tslighe. Tá saoilsin bheodha bhíodhgach agat agus tuigsint ghlan, léir. Tá glaine aigne agus glaine Ghaedhilge agat, Dia id bheannachadh ! Chéad-scoth ár scríobhnóirí thú nach miste, meon ná náire, óigh ná leanbh an uile fhocal do léigheamh dár bhreacais-se riamh ar phár. Gura fada againn thú, agus nára fada sinn gan seoda eile uait !

TACAR AMHRAN. Pádhraic Ó Domhnalláin do dhíoghluim agus do chuir le chéile : Muintir Ghuill. 67 leath. 1925. 1s. ghlan.

Ós cionn tríochad amhrán ndeas, ngleoite atá san díoghluim seo. Agus, cé gur ó fhilí Chonacht nach mór iad, féach, na dhiaidh sin go bhfuil " aisling " orra ! Acht má tá féin aisling Chonachtach í, sé sin, aisling an-diúid (shímplidhe), an-sho-thuigthe. Ná cuireadh sí scáth, mar sin, ar an té is cúthaile. Molann Aireacht an Oideachais an Díoghlaim so go h-árd, agus, ní h-iongnadh san, óir táid na h-amhráin seo an-oireamhnach d'aos fhoghlamtha na Gaedhilge i gcoitcheann agus do lucht fhreastail na gcúrsaí samhraidh go sonnradhach. Tá súil agam le h-árd-ghlaodhach ar an Óir-chiste amhrán so.

CAITHEAMH AIMSIRE. Tórna do cheap : An tarna cur amach. Cló Ollscoile Chorcaighe tré Muintir Guí : 3s. 6d. glan.

Is ar éigin is gábhadh nod do thabhairt do chlanna Ghaedheal an Chnuasacht bhreágh so Thórna bheith ar fáil arís. Thaisbeáineadar cheana méid a measa ar an leabhar, óir dhitheadar an chéad-chló dhe leastig de ocht mbliadhna. Gur i luas agus i bhfrithire raghaidh a n-éileamh air leis an aimsir ! Micheal MacCraith.

X

SEAMROG NA gCEITHRE nDUILLEOG. Le Brighid Ní Dhochartaigh. Preas Dhún Dealgan do chuir i gclódh agus do chuir amach. Sráidbhaile Dúin Dealgan: 1925. 1s. 3d. Tríd an bpost, 1s. 4d.

Is scéal ana dheas é seo. Féach ar an urnaighe a dheineann Caitríona. "Míorbhult Dé a bhí ann, nár thréig mé mo chreideamh, mo dhúthchas Gaedhealach agus a raibh de mhaitheas ionnam, ar mhaithe le saidhbhreas saoghalta! A Dhia, iarraim maitheamhnas arís is arís ort. Anois fágfad m' athair, mo mháthair, mo thír agus gach a bhfuil dílis dom in mo dhiaidh agus tairgim Duit m'anam agus mo chorp ó'n lá seo go lá mo bháis le seirbhís a dhéanamh Duit."

An Ghaedhealg atá ins an leabhar so, tá sí glan, soléir, sothuigseach. Bíodh gurab í Gaedhealg an Tuaiscirt í, tuigfear ar fuaid na h-Éireann í.

Aithristear scéilíní nách bhfuil dluthbaint aca leis an scéal. Scéilíní deasa is eadh iad. Acht muna mbéadh siad ann, b'fhearrde an scéal é. P. MacPh.

CNOC NA nGABHA. Cuid a Trí. Micheál Breathnach d'aistrigh; an Doch. Mac Énrí do chuir in eagar; Muintir Dubhthaigh d'fhoillsigh. 1925. Leath-chróinn a fhiacha.

Is beag leabhar i mBéarla atá chomh ionaistrighthe go Gaedhilg agus atá braisgéal Cathail Cichaim—Cnoc na nGabha. Ba mhaith an bhail air ámhthach gur b'é sgribhneóir chomh cliste fíorghaedhealach le Micheál Breathnach a ghlac peann an aistrightheóra; mar le n-a leithéid d'obair a dhéunamh mar ba chóir, ba riachtanach sgribhneóir a thuigfeadh go beacht cora cainnte na teanga, agus thuigfeadh freisin sprid agus beatha na nGaedheal. Ní gádh a rádh gur thuig an Breathnach an méad sin go h-iomlán, agus d'á bhrigh sin mairfidh Cnoc na nGabha 'san nGaedhilg chomh maith agus mar a mhaireann sé fé láthair san mBéarla.

Tá an Dochtúir Mac Énrí tar éis cuid a trí de'n leabhar seo a chur i n-eagar fé láthair agus is féidir a ghealladh do'n leightheóir Gaedhealach go bhfuighfidh sé é chomh spéiseamhail sultmhar mealltach agus mar a bhí an leabhar i mBéarla do'n léightheóir as Béurla. Ní beag sin a rádh. Is beag idirdhealughadh atá idir an leabhar i mBéurla 's an aistriughadh ach amháin b'féidir gur bríoghmhaire tuigseanaighe ráidte gaedhalacha na ndaoine 'san dteanga dúthchais ná mar is féidir leo a bheith 'san mBéurla.

Tá an t-aistriughadh go beacht litcardha beagnach 's ní locht sin mar is éol do gach duine ní cuma an Bhéurla atá ar chainnt

daoine Cnoc na nGabha ach croiceann na Gaedhilge. Gan ámhras is maith an bhreis an leabhar seo do nuadhlitridheacht na h-Éireann 's is fiú a ionad 'na mheasg. Tá súil againn go mbeidh cuid a ceathar le fághail sar i bhfad.

Liturgy

THE SACRAMENTARY (LIBER SACRAMENTORUM): Historical and Liturgical Notes on the Roman Missal. By Ildefonso Schuster, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Paul's Without the Walls. Translated from the Italian by Arthur Levelis-Marke. Vol. I. (Parts 1 and 2). London : Burns, Oates & Washbourne. 1924. 15*s.*

Abbot Schuster's title puzzled me when I first took up his book. Why should a commentary on the Roman Missal go by the name of *Liber Sacramentorum?* It was ignorance, of course ; but the Abbot is writing for the uninitiated, and the answer, which is to be found in his first chapter, will probably be as new to many of his readers as it was to me. A quotation from the chapter in question may help to give some notion of the Abbot's style, and explain why this large volume of over 400 pages makes excellent reading if you dip into it here and there, taking a chapter or two at a time :—

" We can well imagine the case of a poor country priest, somewhat advanced in years, assisted only by three or four fidgety boys acting as *lectores*. He would require an entire library for the celebration of Mass—to wit, the Sacramentary, the book of the Gospels, that of the Epistles, the Antiphonary, the Responsorial ; and would, moreover, have the trouble of searching through the collection in order to find the collects, the scriptural readings, the proper chants ; in a word, the various parts required in the service. The simplest solution of his difficulties would have been to combine all these compilations into one, by copying out for each day at full length the entire Mass belonging to the different feasts of the year. This is the origin of the *Missale plenarium* of the Carlovingian epoch. It was entitled *plenarium* because, unlike the early Sacramentaries, it contained the whole of the Eucharistic liturgy, without the need of employing any other book."

Miscellaneous information of that kind is to be found everywhere in Abbot Schuster's book ; and, since the early Sacramentaries contain the celebrant's part in all the great ceremonies of the Church, as well as Mass, we have a series of introductory chapters on a variety of subjects : Baptism and Confirmation, the origins of the Divine Office, St. Gregory's reform of the Liturgy, the Papal Mass, the musical " Schola " of the Lateran, Penance, Orders,

consecration of churches, sacred art, consecration of monks and nuns, of states and rulers, the nuptial blessing, Extreme Unction and burial. I give the list in Abbot Schuster's own order, not claiming to understand the principle on which one chapter follows another ; and I warn the reader that the chapters are often no better ordered than the book. But miscellaneous information there is in plenty, together with long quotations from the original Latin documents ; and our liturgy, so familiar in daily use, is just the sort of subject about which miscellaneous information is most useful and desirable. The chapters which I have enumerated occupy the first half of this volume (Part I. of the whole work). Part II. begins with three chapters on the Roman hierarchy, the Roman Calendar and the Ordinary of the Mass. These are followed by a detailed study of each Mass in the present Roman Missal, beginning with the *Proprium de Tempore*. The present volume ends with the Sundays after Epiphany. I presume that a second volume will conclude the *Proprium de Tempore* and add the *Proprium de Sanctis* ; but the publishers tell us that the work will run to no less than four volumes.

Criticism may seem ungracious where so much is offered ; and I have enjoyed some of the chapters so well—notably the long section on the Canon of the Mass, and another on the beautiful rites connected with Baptism in the early Church—that I should be sorry to make any one interested in the subject hesitate about buying this book. But comparison with two other Catholic works is so obvious that criticism becomes inevitable. Abbot Schuster touches more than once on the origin of Roman, Gallican, Ambrosian and Eastern rites ; and it is by no means easy to be certain what view he holds. Inevitably I went back to Mgr. Duchesne's *Christian Worship*, and I warn students of historical liturgy that Duchesne's work is still unrivalled. Again, for those who are not professional students, Abbot Schuster's volume often pre-supposes too much. His Latin quotations are seldom translated, and his method of indirect allusion to liturgical facts, of which the ordinary reader knows little, makes his meaning hard to follow : Dom Cabrol's *Liturgical Prayer* is still the best book for general readers. Moreover, the Abbot has an irritating habit of quarrelling with much that is very beautiful in the present Roman liturgy, just because it is not ancient. He should have been more faithful to the spirit of his favourite Pope, St. Gregory the Great, who justified his liturgical reforms on the ground that, after all, the Canon of the Mass is only a liturgical prayer composed by *scholasticus quidam*. For Abbot Schuster the Canon in its original form (over which scholars dispute endlessly) is so sacred that he is sometimes barely reverent in his

description of more recent additions. Thus we are told (p. 303) that in the prayer: *Per quem haec omnia, etc.*, said by the priest just before the *Pater Noster*, the "treacherous *haec omnia*" has "passed over unnoticed down to the last compiler of the Canon" and "has done him a bad turn and brought to light his deceptive acts." And of the *Quam oblationem, etc.*, just before the Consecration (p. 285): "It may well be that the *Quam* now represents an infelicitous attempt to connect the acephalous Roman epiklesis with the preceding prayer."

These are occasional lapses, and I take them from a chapter which is full of interesting details. A more general cause of irritation is the frequent badness of the translator's work. Technical terms which abound on every page, are, I admit, accurately rendered, and Mr. Levelis-Marke must have had many tedious hours before he completed his task. But the tediousness has affected his style, and his work makes heavy reading. However, I owe Mr. Levelis-Marke one moment of pure joy. Among many interesting corners of this somewhat ramshackle treasure-house is a section on the early rites connected with Christmas and the Epiphany. Abbot Schuster cleared up several minor puzzles for me, and then I came on the following (p. 365): "In the fifteenth century the Pope assisted at the vigils (of Christmas), clad in a cappa of scarlet wool with a hood to it . . . If the Emperor also were present, he was vested in a cope, and, brandishing his sword, was called upon to sing the fifth lesson." Some of us find it hard enough to sing a lesson with no more serious distraction than the stern eye of a master of ceremonies. But, merciful heaven, who would be bold enough to sing a lesson in a cope, brandishing a sword? A. G.

Irish History

DEFENDERS OF THE FORD. Pages from the Annals of the Boys of Ireland from the Earliest Ages down to 1798. By Mrs. Thomas Concannon, M.A. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd. 1925. Pp. xiv., 280. 6*s.* 0*d.* net.

THE twenty-one very readable chapters of this acceptable volume will be found very serviceable in the good cause of keeping the teaching of the History of Ireland at once thoroughly Irish and thoroughly Catholic. From manifold sources, which are carefully indicated at the end of each topic dealt with, Mrs. Concannon has welded together a great yet orderly mass of significant details. The result is a book which is really alive, and which has a constant human appeal. Here we have no mere historical romance: there is a firmness and closeness of texture about the book which makes

it much more valuable to the educator, both at home and in the school. The English sources are very considerable in extent: it makes the main argument for Faith and Nationality all the more irrefutable that it should be based on the admissions of those alien from both these elements of Irish tradition. The more serious and formal sources on the Irish side are also fully utilised: if one additional source is to be named, it might be said that the countless touches and allusions in the Irish bardic poems could contribute more fully to the dramatic vividness of the narrative.

The mention of dramatic vividness prompts the reviewer to point out the supreme utility which the "Defenders of the Ford" can easily be given in all grades of Irish education. It is a mine of almost inexhaustible worth for the dramatic presentation, in Irish schools of all grades, of really Irish scenes. Nothing is more needed, for the real restoration of the Irish vernacular, than the development of the "dramatic process" as a dominant method of teaching and education in the national language, up to the close of the primary stage. The colloquial power and ease of conversation which that method can give even very small children is well known. Dramatised scenes, based on this volume of very real and very human history, can be easily built up by the score from the real data of Irish life in the past. They should of course, be in Irish; and, with a little encouragement, the dramatisation could be undertaken by the children themselves. The availability of Mrs. Concannon's chapters for this advance in teaching methods is rather increased than lessened by the fact that she has interpreted the word "boys," as to age and growth, in the generously wide way in which the term has always been used in Ireland. All educators in Ireland will find it a most inspiring work both for the class and for the school and parish library. It will also do good service beyond the seas.

T. C.

THE CONGESTED DISTRICTS BOARD FOR IRELAND: 1891-1923. Its Constitution, Administration, and Dissolution. By William L. Micks. Dublin: Eason and Son, Ltd. 1925. Pp. 276. 15*s.* 0*d.*

IT may well be expected that none of the many English Boards, functioning in Ireland since Cromwell's day, will venture to follow the example set by Mr. W. L. Micks, who is long and most favourably known as a "good official" in rural Ireland. Having been long Secretary, and afterwards a specially responsible member of the Board, Mr. Micks is well qualified to present this account of its work. The Administration of the Congested Districts was the

nearest approach to Irish Administration in Ireland prior to 1920, because the Board always contained a large number of members who were never absorbed into the life of officialdom in the various English offices in Dublin. They came up from rural Ireland for meetings, they pulled their full weight at them, and they went home again. Mr. Micks gives a restrained measure of information as to their characters, weight of influence, and special service. He gives also some account of the really official and often really English side of the Board, and he has utilised with considerable skill the language of the official letter and the formal blue-book. His principal figure of speech, it may easily be inferred, is what the Greeks called *meiosis* and *litotes*.

This attribute of style affects more elements in the record than the personal references. Though Mr. Micks is a very human official, the volume he has so properly produced, while highly valuable and clear in its lessons, suffers somewhat from the want of independent presentation. It is throughout too much alike, in manner and outlook, to Mr. Micks' excellent official report which is given in Appendix III. on "The Rosses" in Donegal. A few chapters written from outside would have made the record of 1891-1923 complete. We need a treatment of such topics as the Congested Forest of Knockmoy, the Congested Districts' Board policy as to the Hackney strain, as to the retention of estates in official hands for several years after purchase, and even as to such very homely topics as the official introduction of "the Congested hen." Admirably ordered and clear, the whole book is just a little too official. This official restraint and limitation of outlook pervades even the closing pages of the narrative, wherein is recorded the remarkable fact that the Board was not a little popular, and that this was fully recognised, and the value of the work so done was fully recorded, by the responsible Minister who took over the work of the Congested Districts Board two years ago. No other Board could present such a final and favourable judgment on its work: and this fact is the best justification of this very presentable volume. T. C.

Philosophy

THE PHILOSOPHY OF "AS IF." A system of the theoretical, practical, and religious fictions of mankind. By H. Vaihinger. Translated by C. K. Ogden. London: Kegan Paul. 1924. 25*s*. net.

Hans Vaihinger is well-known in Germany as one of the older school of contemporary thinkers, and as an able critic of Kantian philosophy. He was a friend and disciple of Vischer, Lange and

Wundt, and became acquainted with Strauss when the latter was on his death-bed. The present volume, which contains practically a complete survey of the writer's philosophical views, has already gone through six German editions, and now appears in a translation which, considering the difficulty of the matter treated, is very readable.

Like so many thinkers of the modern school, Herr Vaihinger is a subjectivist of sorts, and once we know that, we know that we are going to quarrel with him all the way through. A system of philosophy cannot, unfortunately, be appraised on the principle of the curate's egg. The author's idea of a "fiction" is something that the mind sees to be false, yet agrees to look on as if true, because this serves some purpose. Now at the outset, the mind never does any such thing. Herr Vaihinger's fiction is simply a philosophical Mrs. Harris. A few examples indeed are given of concepts which come fairly near the definition, such as the legal fiction under which, in England of the eighteenth century, every crime could be treated as if personally directed against the king, the schematic drawings of zoologists representing specimens as if they were transparent, or the "animal archetype" imagined by Goethe when in a regrettable moment the poet lapsed into zoology. But even these are far from fulfilling the definition exactly. The mind does not perceive their falsehood, because it never conceives them as existing, and for the same reason it does not conceive them as if true. What in point of fact happens is that the mind takes concepts it already knows to be objectively true, and by its abstractive power deduces certain conclusions that would infallibly happen if certain conditions were fulfilled, and that is all. Herr Vaihinger tries to differentiate these "fictions" sharply from hypotheses, but without reason. Invent a fiction to explain facts and you have an hypothesis. Go on to infer what would happen if your fiction were true and you have the real fiction in Herr Vaihinger's sense. But in neither case does the mind assent to the objective existing truth of its creation.

Nevertheless the study of these fictions might provide matter for an epistemological treatise, though of a slight kind. But a bulky volume has to be filled, and so more fictions have to be manufactured. All the rusty old machinery of subjectivism is set to work. The psyche is but a sum of sensations (a familiar phrase that); motion, time and space are mere ideational constructs; free-will is self-contradictory; we speak *as if* a soul existed; and finally (in a small foot-note) the idea of God "is the best example" of a fiction which has become an hypothesis and then a dogma.

It is inevitable that this book should be full of the contradictions which are the logical result of tinkering with the processes of thought. Herr Vaihinger rejects pragmatism, yet he declares truth to be "the most expedient error." The psyche is "not a substance, but the organic whole of all so-called mental actions and reactions," and yet "the psyche works over the materials presented to it *by* the sensations." We read of general judgments that "the establishment of an unchangeable sequence and co-existence (or at any rate one that has never changed within our field of observation) is certain knowledge." In other words, our certain knowledge might in another field of observation be false, a statement which, if we read it aright, means mental nihilism, though elsewhere the author vigorously defends his system against the charge of scepticism.

We are glad to find the Scholastics left severely out of the *Philosophy of As If.* Once we have a reference to "quidditas and other mediaeval entities," and again "Whole epochs were content with the husks of things, the Middle Ages for instance." St. Teresa we find for once in strange company, but only in a quotation from Leibniz. F. McG.

L'ANIMA DI SAN TOMMASO. By Francesco Olgiati. Pubblicazioni della Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Serie prima: Scienze filosofiche. Volume I. Fasacolo I. Milan.

THIS work is a general introduction to the philosophy of St. Thomas. It is synthetic in method, seeking out the central conceptions and principles in St. Thomas's thought, and showing by a rapid survey of his doctrines in Metaphysics, Theodicy, Logic, Psychology, and Ethics, how the leading principles are worked out. The notion of being is shown to be the most fundamental. Dr. Olgiati's work, though general and covering a large field, is often illuminating as well on points of detail, and touches also on interesting historical questions. J. SHINE.

LA GNOSEOLOGIA DELL'ATTO COME FONDAMENTO DELLA FILOSOFIA DELL, ESSERE. By Giuseppe Zamboni. Milano: "Vita e Pensiero." L. 8.

THIS able essay gives a systematic exposition of St. Thomas's Theory of Knowledge. As it is only in modern times that the critical problems regarding knowledge have become prominent, we do not find the subject systematically treated by St. Thomas. His views on many points have to be inferred from fragmentary statements scattered through his works. This essay gives a recon-

struction of his views, filling out those parts of the system which he indicated merely in outline. The author tells us we may regard the work either as an account of the Thomistic theory, or as his own solution of the problem arrived at independently by the method of psychological analysis, a solution which he found to harmonize and even coincide with the view of St. Thomas.

Looked at as an exposition of the Thomistic theory of knowledge, the work is admirable in arrangement and presentation, but it goes beyond mere exegesis, and gives a free rendering and interpretation of St. Thomas's concise expressions, filling out the sense so as to follow out the facts of knowledge in all their complexity. This difficult task is achieved with great subtlety and suggestiveness, the materials provided by St. Thomas being adapted very ingeniously in working out the psychological aspects of cognition. The essay is not intended to give a complete picture of Thomistic epistemology ; but as a sketch it is a finished thing, bringing out with fulness the configuration and structural lines of the system. The work is so compact and condensed that it would be useless to attempt, in a brief notice, to give an idea of its details.

J. SHINE.

Poetry and the Drama

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF HERBERT TRENCH. Three volumes. London : Cape. 1924. 25*s.* net.

HOWEVER little or much Herbert Trench met with his full meed of recognition as a poet during his life-time, these three handsome volumes of the Memorial Edition will serve to remind people that a true poet was lost out of the world when Herbert Trench died. It was to some extent his own fault that, for the time being, his name and work had slipped out of the ken even of those who care about poetry. A writer cannot afford to be forgotten by his contemporaries, and, as the world goes now, it is out of sight and out of mind unless one raps at the doors of one's literary circle. Herbert Trench's chief literary output was contained within a very few years of work, as such things go. I remember him in London towards the end of the nineties and in the early years of the century. I have an impression of a tall, dark, rather picturesque young man, very eager, very keen in many causes, scholarly, urbane, only not gentle when one of his causes was assailed.

His university career had been most brilliant. He was a Fellow of All Souls, Oxford. He was a very good Irishman, very keen about anything in which the honour of Ireland was concerned. He was one of those my husband used to point to—John Todhunter

was another and there was a score of examples among our friends at that time—saying that every Irish Unionist should be compelled to spend at least five years in England. It was extraordinary how those Anglo-Irish Unionists ceased to be Anglo and ceased to be Unionist, and were apt to find the old Nationalism too jog-trot for their progress.

Herbert Trench was a very good Irishman, but I think he remained a Unionist, at least in my memory of him. He was the first man I heard talking about the Empire—I had hardly known what the Empire was before that—urging, with characteristic passion, that the Irish who had done so much to build the Empire should not forego a single one of its advantages.

We used to go to see him at that time in Campden Hill Square where he lived. Another of his enthusiasms then was for the Armenians. We did not share it, and he was so eloquent about it that I think our coldness passed unnoticed.

He was only beginning to write then, or at least beginning to publish. When I was revising and adding to the Cabinet of Irish Literature in 1899–1900, he sent me some MS. extracts from "Deirdre Wedded" to represent him by. I don't think he had yet published a volume of poems. I was not very much impressed by "Deirdre Wedded"; but he went on rapidly to poetry and real achievement, having obeyed the unwritten law by which at that time every Irish poet must write of Irish mythological persons, at least to begin with. It became a dull fashion in the end.

Personally, I think his finest achievement in poetry is contained in the second of the three volumes labelled "Poems: With Fables in Prose." That is just a personal opinion, and it does not take into account the Napoleon play. In many of his poems he was to a large extent in the shackles of his classicism. It affects pretty well all the Odes and the more pretentious poems. His war poems leave me cold: one feels sometimes that his reach exceeded his grasp. For instance a poem labelled "Requiem of Archangels for the World" ought to have been a tremendous, crashing poem, but somehow it is not. His classicism meant formalism. What an Ode may be—how simple in magnificence—we know from the greatest English Ode, Wordsworth's "On the Intimations of Immortality." is magnificent if you will, yet it has the small human touches that make the heart like wax. For instance:

> The six years darling of a pigmy size,
> Fretted with sallies of his mother's kisses,
> With light upon him from his father's eyes . . .

That limpid simplicity and sincerity are in the otherwise great and crashing Odes of Milton, the Odes of Crashaw, of Keats; in a much lesser degree in the Autumnal Ode of our own Aubrey de Vere, in the Odes of Coventry Patmore, of Francis Thompson. That is to say, these poets could take a form framed for great things and could make it knock at the heart like the most haunting lyric. Nearly always, I think, Herbert Trench succeeded least when he aimed the highest. One often feels, reading him, that those resounding phrases pleased the classicist in him better than the poems in which he is passionate, simple and sincere. I consider the achievement of the "Musing on a Great Soldier," with its perfect simplicity, finer than the poem on the Marne. It gives you the surprise, the uplift, which is the very test of poetry.

Oddly enough in these volumes (excluding the Napoleon) I go back instinctively to the poems which delighted me twenty years ago, to the simplicity of the Irish poems—to "Maurya's Song" and "Killary."

MAURYA'S SONG.

Rushes that grow by the black water
When will I see you more?
Land of the green green shore!
When will the field and the small cabin
See me more?
In the old country.

What is to me all the gold yonder?
She that bore me is gone,
Knees that dandled and hands that blessed me
Colder than any stone.
Stranger to me than the face of strangers
Are my own.
In the old country.

Pulse of my heart! from the lone mountain
The smoke of the turf will die
And the stream that sang to the young childher
Run down alone from the sky:
On the door-stone grass—and the cloud lying
Where they lie
In the old country.

This poem, of an unforced and haunting pathos, is matched by the beauty of "Killary"—a strangely beautiful and pure love-song:—

KILLARY

When all her brothers in the house
Were lying asleep, my love
Ran before me under the bend of boughs
Till we looked down from above
On the long loch
On the brown loch
On the lone loch of Killary.

Together we ran down the copse
And stood in the rain as close
As the birds that sleep in the soft tops
Of the tree that comes and goes,
When the morn moon
When the young moon
When the morn moon rose on Killary.

In tremblings of the water chill
Swans we saw preen their coat,
Biting their plume with stoop'd bill
And quivering neck, afloat.
On the brown shade
On the deep shade
The shade of hills on Killary.

Why pale, my beloved, now
When the first light 'gins to beat?
No sun of autumn is rich as thou,
And honey after thy feet
Shall rise from the grass
The wet of the grass
The dew of the grass over Killary.

My grief it is only that thou and I
Must part like swans of the flood
That rise up sorrowful into the sky.
For one goes over the wood
And one over-sea
And one over-sea
And one oversea from Killary!

Ah, the little raindrops that hang on the bough
Together they may run;
But never again shall I and thou
Meet here in the morning sun.
We shall meet no more
We shall kiss no more
We shall meet no more by Killary.

It is such poems as these that one remembers over the years, so that they become part of one's mind, when the more ambitious poems like "Apollo and the Seaman," with its fine picturesqueness, we forget or but half remember. Those unearthly love-songs, as in the series "To Arolilia," are very characteristic of the Irish Muse. It is bodiless love, love of the spirit. This has the perfect simplicity, the lack of which sometimes makes Herbert Trench's poetry cold.

I put aside the branches
That clothe the door in gloom,
A glow-worm in the pathway,
And a light out of her room
Shook down a stifled greeting.
How should it greet aright
The thirst of years like deserts,
That led up to this night?

But she like sighing forests
Stole on me, full of rest:
Her hair was like the sea's waves,
Whiteness was in her breast.
So does one come at night upon a wall of roses.

And again there is this ethereal poem :

TO AROLILIA.

When you were born the Earth obeyed ;
(Call her, Echo) !
Fragrancies from the distance blew,
Beanfields and violets were made,
And jasmine by the cypress grew—
Jasmine by the cloudy yew.
(Call her, Echo !
Call Arolilia by her name).

When you were born despairs must die,
(Call her, Echo) !
Sweet tongues were loosened from a spell—
Snow mountains glistened from on high
And torrents to the valleys fell,
A song into man's bosom fell,
(Call her, Echo !
Call Arolilia by her name !)

When you were born, hid lightning's shape
(Call her, Echo !)
Took up the poor man's altar coal,
His green vine throbbed into the grape,
And in the dastard sprang a soul
(Call her, Echo !
Call Arolilia by her name !)

When you were born, all golden shot
(Call her, Echo !)
Fountains of daybreak from the sea—
And still if near I find you not—
If steps I hear but you come not—
Darkness lies on the world for me.
(Call her, Echo !
Call Arolilia by her name !)

Herbert Trench was, I will not say a disciple, but a kindred mind to Matthew Arnold. I think he went further back and was influenced by Shelley. Oxford and the Board of Education perhaps gave his poetry something of Arnold's cast, but I believe his was the finer mind and the less influenced by classical forms and fetters. In " Napoleon " he got away from all the traditions. He was himself. There is energy and imagination in the play. One wonders that in a world where John Drinkwater is acclaimed, Herbert Trench as a playwright should not be acclaimed in the wider publicity of the open theatre. He has had the compliment of performance by the Stage Society.

I have only one criticism to make of this brilliant play ; the characters are apt to be over-educated, even the simplest. The play is too tense. Shakespeare or a lesser dramatist would have relieved it with some earthiness, some fooling.

Herbert Trench was greatly gifted. He had a high standard for his work, and none can say that he did not write nobly and

with lucent beauty often. One opens at random one of the three volumes to find :—

> Or I a shepherd am in Thessidy,
> And the twilight village cries : hath he not come
> On the last scented load of myrtle home ?
> He sits in the great valley deep and still
> Blocked by the snow-capt mountains, and his sheep
> Tawny and dark roam far and crop their fill
> In the wide pastures, by the river deep,
> His wandering fingers teach the stops at will
> Melodies cool as water, soft as sleep.

He was sensitive to all forms of beauty and all the arts, cultivated to his finger-tips. Music sounds in his poetry and painting colours it. Not only natural beauty touched him, but the beauty made by the hands of man. If he had a fault or a deficiency, it was perhaps a lack of humour. There is no humour in "Napoleon," nor in "Apollo and the Seaman."

Looking back over twenty years ago, I can see Herbert Trench on a hilarious occasion when there were Tableaux in a London Hall, the subjects being taken from the old Irish Bardic stories. Those who presented them had done everything well except the practical matters. There everything was wrong. There was an unhappy man who, sitting in darkness with one electric light upon his page, chanted the Argument, or whatever it was called, before each Tableau. As often as he began the light went out and was restored with some difficulty only to go out again. Then came the Tableaux. Something was wrong with the curtain.

"The scene represents the banqueting-chamber at Tara . . ." the reader began. "The personages . . . ." he was quite unconscious, poor man, that the curtain had refused to move higher than the feet of the heroes and ladies. When it moved at last, it refused to go down lower than the waists of the performers : and, suddenly, when the scene behind was in confusion, it jerked itself to the ceiling with a tremendous effort, not to come down again. It was irresistibly funny, and funnier because the performers were so well pleased with themselves and so little disturbed by these untoward happenings.

Most of the audience being Irish enjoyed the glorious hour of comedy, but Herbert Trench, who had brought a party of English people with him, suffered untold anguish because he felt that Ireland was being made ridiculous. We were heartily glad that one of the periods of darkness covered us when Herbert Trench came to us for sympathy. He would never have had any respect for us again.

I think his best poetry was written before he managed the

Haymarket Theatre for Lord Howard de Walden, running Maeterlinck plays. I doubt that the life of a theatre, even a Repertory theatre, is ever favourable to the production of pure poetry. I suppose he had the Irish passion for the drama. He is not the only Irishman who has given to the theatre what was meant for pure literature.

Another memory of him which perhaps throws light on his character, recurs to me, with Mrs. Trench's gentle plaint, after he had been acclaiming a friend's child as a coming genius, that he had been so unreasonable with one of his own young children who had not recognised a cow when she saw it. "How could she recognise that it was a cow?" asked Mrs. Trench, "seeing that she was born and brought up in London."

He would have had intellectual intolerance, something always of the mind of the don. I can remember him very contemptuous. It is the kind of mind which is happiest, or thinks it is, in Greece or Italy than among the equal beauties at home.

He had always loved travel and when he left the Board of Education, and the theatre, behind sometime in the years before the War, to settle ultimately in Florence, he had come, I think, to a somewhat narrowing, somewhat cramping influence. Life in a foreign city is not for the island man or woman an energising life. I daresay Herbert Trench got from it whatever expansion was possible. He was a lover of the people, and in the descent from those who sang hymns for Mazzini or whatever other revolutionary leader there might be, without ever being a real democrat at heart. Such as he might well be astonished and dismayed when the Revolutions got going, for all revolutions are ugly whatever they may lead to. When one of his poems of the War-time cries like the blare of a trumpet: "Russia is Free!" one wonders what he would have said if he had lived to see the Soviet in being.

He died at Boulogne, June 11th, 1923. One wonders if he was there because the magic of Napoleon drew him there. The scenes of the play were set mainly in Boulogne, that strange town with its mixture of raffishness and great traditions.

Perhaps the selection he made himself from his poems may bring him the audience he deserves: many of the poems will be for the anthologies; and this high and generous muse might well be something for Ireland to add to her glories, if Ireland has time for such things in these days of movement and change.

KATHARINE TYNAN.

THE TAIN. By Mary A. Hutton. Illustrated by Seaghan Mac Cathmhaoil. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1924. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

On its first appearance seventeen years ago this work was hailed as an important addition to the literary movement which was then seeking to bring to the notice of English-speaking people the literature of the Irish Language. In those days the great need was to vindicate the cause of Irish Literature. To-day that vindication is almost complete. Irish Literature now calls for competent development. Works such as this make for such a development.

Any translation of the *Táin* is a formidable task. The task which Mrs. Hutton set herself was extremely formidable. It was, not merely to translate for us a few collated MSS., but to do so in the spirit of "some scholarly shanachie of a thousand years ago"; and to weave into the story other incidents, which would enlarge its interest and yet not destroy its unity.

Mrs. Hutton is equal to her task. Scholars may indeed find fault with the plan of the book on the ground of its being, not the *Táin*, but a new epic built up of the *Táin* and many other sagas; but while the selection of incidents is arbitrary, their individual rendering is accurate. This does not claim to be a text-book; yet scholars, as well as those to whom the story as a story, makes most appeal, will alike find their needs satisfied in Mrs. Hutton's work.

It is a stimulus to Irish letters that the great story has been so well produced. We have been accustomed to associate Irish books with ragged edges and high prices. But no one can complain here. The Talbot Press offers us a well-printed volume, carefully edited and artistically ornamented. Not less appropriate are the illustrations by Seaghan MacCathmhaoil, which catch something of the majesty and greatness of the epic. Yet the price is only 10*s.* 6*d.* Such a spirit of enterprise deserves every praise; let us hope it will get that of imitation. L. McK.

A HISTORY OF EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY DRAMA, 1700–1750. By Allardyce Nicoll, Professor of English Language and Literature in the University of London. Cambridge: University Press. 1925. 18*s.* net.

Professor Allardyce Nicoll has already enriched the history of the drama in England by a scholarly volume on the *Restoration Stage* (1660–1700), and now he continues the account of English dramatic literature from 1700 to 1750. It was, indeed, a herculean task to get through the enormous output of plays produced during

the first half of the 18th century : to give even the barest mention of them all would necessitate several volumes. Hence, it was, wisely, considered best to eliminate a number of pieces that, for various reasons, may be regarded as negligible. However, the bibliography of the period is treated in a most exhaustive fashion, and records of the play are included, with a comprehensive list of performances from 1700 to 1750, necessitating an examination of all the available newspapers, playbills, lists by Latreille and Colman, as well as the Harris and Burney collections of cuttings.

Not alone does Professor Nicoll deal with comedies and tragedies at the various theatres, but he gives a good account of pantomimes, masques, Italian operas, French farces, etc. And he includes the plays in the repertoires of Drury Lane and of Covent Garden, and, also, in the booths at Bartholomew Fair and of Punch's Theatre in the Haymarket. Of course as is to be expected, the drama in Ireland is not forgotten, and here Professor Nicoll gracefully acknowledges the valuable assistance of the Irish-Elizabethan scholar, Mr. W. J. Lawrence, who is the greatest living authority on the history of the Irish stage.

Opening with a general account of the Audience, the Theatre, and the Actors and Actresses, the book leads us to chapters on Tragedy and Comedy, followed by a Chapter on Miscellaneous Forms of Drama. Appendix A deals with the Theatres, 1700 to 1750. Appendix B gives a summary of documents connected with the history of the stage, for that period, preserved in the Public Record Office, London ; and Appendix C furnishes a Hand-list of theatrical entertainments produced for the first time within the first half of the eighteenth century, with the dates of first performance, and the years of publication.

The section dealing with Italian and English Operas is not as full nor as accurate as it might be. A reference to Mr. W. J. Lawrence's article on the opening of the Haymarket in the *Musical Quarterly* would have supplied the needed details of the operatic season in London of the years 1705–8. It might also have been added that the adapter and producer of *Camilla* (March 20, 1706) was an Irishman from near Enniscorthy, Owen MacSweeney, who was part proprietor of the Haymarket in 1706. A bilingual performance (English and Italian) was given on December 6, 1707, and at length, the first completely Italian opera *Almahide* (Bononcini) was given, establishing Italian opera on a firm basis—though it is well to note that there were Italian *Intermezzi* at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, in July, 1703, while *Prunella*, a pasticcio opera produced at Drury Lane, on February 12, 1708-9, was the fore-

runner of Ballad Opera. It is to be presumed that the "Signor Tosti" mentioned by Professor Nicoll as singing at a concert in London on April 3, 1693, was Signor P. F. Tosi.

The Appendix on "Italian Operas, Oratorios, and Serennatos" could have been made more serviceable by a reference to the admirable "Catalogue of Opera Librettos in the Library of Congress" (Washington, U.S.A.), by O. G. T. Sonneck (1914). Ariosti had nothing to do with *Muzio Sceola* in 1721. However, these are but very minor matters, and in no way detract from the outstanding importance of Professor Nicoll's monumental volume.

W. H. Grattan-Flood.

The Spiritual Life

CHRISTIAN SPIRITUALITY DURING THE MIDDLE AGES. By P. Pourrat. Translated by S. P. Jacques. London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne. 1924. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE IDEALS OF ASCETICISM. By O. Hardman, D.D. London: S.P.C.K. 1924. 12*s.* net.

The Protestant Bishop of Massachussets has just published a spiritual auto-biography; fifty years of groping to a conclusion, sponsored by the Bishop of Birmingham, that modern knowledge requires some restatement of the Christian's traditional theology. One cannot help wondering what traditional theology means to the Protestant divine, who, at every round-table conference, at every Church congress, in every theological magazine, seems to glory in freedom from tradition. For him, at least, St. Paul's anathema against even an angel from heaven who would improve upon the Gospel has long since spent its force. There is but one Church with a traditional theology—dogmatic, ascetic and moral—and that Church is the Catholic Church.

The two works before us are typical of the Catholic and the Protestant mentalities. The Catholic is like the gold-digger working in the mine, where the treasure is secure. The Protestant is like the searcher in the dust-bins of the world, hoping to find some stray treasure in the mass of rubbish. Dr. Hardman, addressing himself to his co-religionists, has to prove that the principles of the Beatitudes will stand the test of the electric searchlight as, for centuries, they have stood the open daylight of the sun. With a great deal of erudition he leads us through the scrap heaps of Paganism. He searches amid "the religions of the lower culture the beginnings of both vocational asceticism . . . . and group asceticism." He traverses Africa, India, Asia, Australia, seeking for a spark of

spirituality to enkindle an ascetic flame, till at last we find ourselves where Christian sentiment would have us from the start, at the foot of the Cross : *scio cui credidi et certus sum.*

There are many beautiful passages in Dr. Hardman's book, there are many noble thoughts ; and we cannot doubt for a moment the sincerity of his wish that when " the Church is able to leaven the world with Christians who thus faithfully practise the threefold rule, fasting and giving and praying in discharge of their spiritual citizenship, the ills of society will begin to be done away, true progress will be made, and the Kingdom of God will come apace." With many excellent thoughts on the ideals of asceticism, it is a pity that he should have lost so much time in searching for truth amidst all the grotesque vagaries of the savage, and the maze of unchristian thought. The most serious flaw in the book is the complete ignorance of the fundamental notions of Catholic Theology. The Divine Nature, Personality, the Incarnation, sin, grace are all vague notions to the writer, who, like so many of his brethren, has to pick his steps through a denser fog than the fog of London, the fog of the Reformation.

With a sense of relief, as we turn to the Abbé Pourrat's work, we think of the words of Isaias : " And a path and a way shall be there, and it shall be called the holy way : . . . and this shall be to you a straight way, so that fools shall not err therein." Here at least we are breathing the pure atmosphere of true asceticism.

Abbé Pourrat's theme is the history of Christian Spirituality. With every Catholic writer, he defines Spirituality to be " that part of theology which deals with Christian perfection and the ways that lead to it." The end of all spirituality is the same, union with God through the accomplishment of His will. On the negative side, it demands the avoidance of sin ; on the positive, the practice of virtue. It is clear that each spiritual writer, in view of the exigencies of his particular audience, may stress one aspect more than another. And above all, on the positive side, a predominant attraction for one virtue or group of virtues will be sufficient to found a " School of Spirituality." The special attraction for prayer makes the Hermit, and in course of time the Contemplative Orders ; the love of " Lady Poverty " creates a special outlook for St. Francis, while zeal for souls develops the spirit of St. Dominic. " To one, indeed, " according to St. Paul, " is given the word of wisdom ; and to another the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit."

A perusal of M. Pourrat's work side by side with that of Dr.

Hardman will let the reader see how all the varied practises of asceticism in the Catholic Church are according to the same Spirit, whilst outside her pale they are a matter of personal whim.

M. Pourrat is conscious of the magnitude of his task. His is the work of a pioneer. "The Middle Ages, both ascetical and mystical," he writes, "lie before us like a vast forest, full of life but exceedingly dense. It is, therefore, of first importance to cut out a path which will enable us to pass through without too great labour and will serve as a landmark in exploring its depths." In the period covered in his first volume he had many landmarks to guide him in numerous historic and dogmatic studies. In this volume on the Middle Ages he undertook a work without beaten paths to follow or guides to lead the way.

He has the characteristic love of the French mind for divisions. In the Middle Ages he discovers a threefold conception of spirituality: "practical and affective spirituality which touches the heart rather than the reason; speculative spirituality, which builds up theories and concerns itself less with practice; finally, a spirituality at the same time speculative and affective, which includes both sentiment and reason." It is hard for a writer to get away from his own prepossessions. M. Pourrat has his *idées fixes*, and his desire to fit the great masters of Spirituality into his categories often falsifies his outlook and renders him unjust to their real thought. This is regrettable and leads, we think, to important misunderstandings in the doctrine of the school of Saint-Victor, of Ruysbroeck, of Suso, even of St. Bernard.

The greater portion of his work centres round great names: St. Bernard, St. Francis, St. Dominic. They are singled out as exponents of certain doctrinal positions, which harmonise with the writer's logical positions. The result is the eclipsing of lesser lights, which none the less have or should have an important place in the spiritual firmament. We might mention William of St. Thierry, Blessed Humbert de Romanis, Adam Meyer, John Hagen, whose influence in Germany was considerable, and many others. But the work of a pioneer is difficult, and it would be ungenerous not to recognise the great debt which we owe to M. Pourrat. There are many other points of detail over which one might linger. We might regret, for instance, that he relies on the authority of Mgr. Puyol, who is neither an impartial judge nor an over exact writer, that his handling of the problem of the "Imitation of Christ" is so unsatisfactory, even contradictory. We are told that the *Directoire des Exercises de St. Ignace*, approved in 1549, is inspired by the *De Novissimis* of Dionysius: now the Directory is not the work

of St. Ignatius, it was approved in 1599, and is not inspired by, but recommends the reading of, the *De Novissimis*.

We are promised another volume, which we are sure will be welcomed as the early ones were. The author will have the advantage of the rich material of many modern studies at his disposal, which will safeguard him from the type of flaws which we have had to note in the present volume.

He is fortunate in his transaltors: they have preserved the living style of the original. G. BYRNE.

THE ORCHARD BOOKS. No. 4. *The Cloud of Unknowing, The Epistle of Privy Counsel and Denis Hid Divinity.* Edited by Dom Justin McCann of Ampleforth Abbey. No. 5. *Introduction to the Devout Life.* By Saint Francis de Sales. In a new translation by Alan Ross, Priest of the London Oratory. With an Introduction by the same. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1924. 5*s.* (cloth), 7*s.* 6*d.* (leather).

THE publishers are to be warmly congratulated on these two volumes of their admirable Orchard Books. No. 4 gives us a scholarly edition of four mystical tracts of the first importance by an unknown writer of the fourteenth century, with Father Agustine Baker's commentary on the *Cloud*, prefaced by a learned yet eminently readable introduction by the editor. There have been previous editions of the *Cloud*, but the other tracts are now printed for the first time. I do not think that the importance of this series of tracts by a contemporary of Chaucer has been sufficiently recognised. They mark a transition in mystical theology and form a sort of half-way house between the Eckhart school contemporary with them and the great Teresian school that was to come. For they are distinctly psychological rather than metaphysical in tone, and reveal an insight into the mental process of obscure contemplation which seems to anticipate St. John of the Cross. We get strong suggestions of Meister Eckhart too, but not pushed to the metaphysical extremes of the Strassburg Dominican, rather are they shaded off into an "As if," becoming psychological devices to secure the practical end of contemplation. Father Baker is the continuator of this school of practical mysticism which sometimes runs perilously near to quietism.

No. 5 of the Orchard Books is a new and excellent version of St. Francis de Sales' *Devout Life*. Dipping into it we seem to hear the Saint talking to us and our contemporary fashionable Christians rather than to the men and women who lived when Shakespeare was producing *Antony and Cleopatra*. It is modern and alive.

We feel that St. Francis is much more our contemporary than Bossuet or Pascal, or even Dupanloup or Lacordaire. Is it because he was a saint ?

JOHN HOWLEY.

THE MYSTICAL STATE. Its Nature and Phases. By Auguste Saudreau, Hon. Canon of Angers. Translated by D. M. B. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1924. 6*s.*

THIS volume will give English-speaking readers an opportunity of making Canon Saudreau's acquaintance as an erudite theologian and energetic polemist. They already know him as a devout and capable director. His *Degrees of the Spiritual Life* and *Way that leads to God* are now widely and favourably known, even to those who have no French, for excellent translations have been published by Burns, Oates and Washbourne. The same publishers now give us one of his most effective controversial volumes ; well translated, printed and indexed. A book to set on our shelves beside Poulain's great work, to which it is more complementary than complimentary. Saudreau is a vigorous fighter and has been in many a battle. The present volume gives us some of the best of his polemical work ; it is well worth careful study by all who have the direction of contemplative souls. JOHN HOWLEY.

SAINT FRANCIS DE SALES AND THE INTRODUCTION TO THE DEVOUT LIFE. By Allan Ross, Priest of the London Oratory. London : Burns, Oates and Washbourne, Ltd. 1925.

THIS excellent little book gives us the history, admirably told, of the *Introduction to the Devout Life*, a clear and luminous analysis of that spiritual masterpiece, and a very brilliant little sketch of St. Francis's spiritual system. It makes a good companion to Father Ross's translation. A book to borrow ; but best of all to buy and lend to those who know not the *Devout Life*, for it is both interesting in itself and calculated to arouse the reader's interest about the subject of which it treats.

Moral Theology

MANUALE THEOLOGIAE MORALIS. Auctore D. M. Prümmer, O.P. 3 vols. Freiburg and London : B. Herder. 1924. 41*s.* 6*d.*

MORAL THEOLOGY. By F. J. Hall and F. H. Hallock. London : Longmans. 1923. 10*s.* 6*d.*

THE first edition of Dr. Prümmer's Moral Theology was published in October, 1914, and, as might be expected, did not receive the

attention it deserved. The author tells us that, during the succeeding nine years of unrest, he laboured daily at the present work, giving special attention to the New Code and amplifying and clarifying his treatment of fundamental principles. "Nonumque prematur in annum"—these volumes bear testimony to the wisdom of Horace. In a brief introduction Dr. Prümmer meets the objection of an imaginary critic who declares that to publish a new Manual of Moral Theology is, in view of the hosts of excellent manuals already existing, nothing else than to bring coals to Newcastle or, as he phrases it, "noctuas portare Athenas." The quality of the previous work published by Dr. Prümmer would satisfy his readers that a Manual of Moral Theology written by him would be of real value. We are glad to state that the volumes better our best anticipations. In 1907 his *Ius Regularium Speciale* was first published, and quickly became recognised as a classic of its kind. Two years later his *De Personis et Rebus Ecclesiasticis in genere* appeared, and was welcomed enthusiastically on account of its thoroughness, its brevity, and above all its clearness. The New Code rendered revision necessary, and quickly Dr. Prümmer produced a new *Manuale Iuris Canonici*, which has already run to its fourth edition. The method, the division of matter, the range of subjects treated, place the present work in the very first rank of treatises on Moral Theology. In Ireland we are familiar with Lehmkuhl, Noldin, Génicot, and Vermeersch. Dr. Prümmer's work stands with these, and at many points surpasses one or other of them.

St. Thomas is his guide and model, and the work abounds with illuminating quotations from the Summa Theologica. In dividing his subject matter, Dr. Prümmer has wisely clung to St. Thomas, abandoning Busembaum and his commentators. The Aristotelian division of the virtues is perhaps not perfect; but it affords a better setting for the Moral Theologian than the commandments of God and of the Church. The catechist will ever find it more convenient to proceed by the Commandments, while the Moral Theologian finds that not only do logic and convenience invite him to follow St. Thomas, but that by doing so he has more room for solid doctrine leading to Christian Perfection. Fr. Vermeersch has made energetic protest against the narrowing of Moral Theology, and has insisted on the necessity of expounding the positive side of Christian moral life. Dr. Prümmer has taken care to avoid the reproach of producing a *Codex peccatorum*, and in following St. Thomas is enabled to give more ample treatment to the virtues than to the vices.

We have said that this Manual is conspicuous for its range; and

in illustration of this, we may point to the historical notes, to the clear, brief and complete treatment of dogmatic points in connection with the Sacraments, to the author's frequent references to civil law, and to the masterly section *De Virtute Religionis*, especially that part devoted to Prayer.

The author is not a Probabilist, but those who adhere to that system will hardly find an occasion on which they will have to differ from him. The discussion of the various systems, Vol. I., pp. 211-225, will be found most interesting. The author favours a system which he styles "The System of Christian Prudence": it would appear to be a prudent application of Probabilism, which, however, comes in at this point for some hard criticism. The Probabilist, however, will not be dismayed, but will follow the learned doctor with comfort when he reads: "Unde confessarius potest quidem prudenter consulere opiniones tutiores et probabiliores, sed nequit imponere strictum onus ad quod poenitens probabiliter non tenetur." The whole discussion is fresh and living, and its spirit may be gauged from the hope expressed that all the reflex principles employed by the champions of the different systems may be reduced to one: "In dubio standum est pro quo stat praesumptio." In his pages the difference between this maxim and "Lex dubia non obligat" is fortunately very difficult to perceive.

We have noted that the author has paid special attention to fundamental principles—indeed the clarity and thoroughness of the first part of the first volume form perhaps the most attractive feature of the work. Casuistry, however, in its best sense, finds a fitting place, and our author is never lacking in courage. Thus the reader will find firm application of principles to cases that are often left severely alone by other writers. Of course there are points that do not give complete satisfaction. The treatise *De Castitate et de Luxuria* covers only twenty-two pages; we have often found in other authors discussions of abnormalities that were quite superfluous; still, we must confess that Dr. Prümmer has erred on the other side. The proof given for the proposition enunciated in Vol. II., n. 682, needs further elaboration. The Scholion to n. 707 of the same volume is too severe. In Vol. III., pp. 497-498 paragraph 713, with note no. 3, the author seems to insinuate a view that is altogether untenable. It is a question of Onanism, and it would be unfair to state that the author holds the opinion himself, but it is quite certain that many of his readers will consider that it may be adopted in practice.

The volumes are exceptionally well brought out; the arrange-

ment of paragraphs and distinction of types are excellent. The first volume runs to 444 pages, the second to 530, the third to 666 pages: yet no one of the three is bulky.

Dr. Hallock has taken the lectures delivered by Dr. Hall in the Western Seminary on Moral Theology and has slightly enlarged and amended them, in order to produce a handbook "for ready reference on the moral problems confronting an Anglican guide of souls." "Materials have been drawn freely from Roman Catholic and Protestant, as well as Anglican sources, but the standpoint is definitely Anglo-Catholic"—so runs the notice printed on the wrapper. An introductory chapter on "The Study of Moral Theology" has been contributed by Dr. Hall himself. He writes vigorously and convincingly against the utilitarian idealism which he finds rampant in the works of most non-Catholic writers on Moral Theology. A true moral science places God at the centre as our chief end, and "Moral Theology should measure all obligations in the light of their bearing on eternal life: when this is done practically, the true and abiding welfare of mankind will be promoted effectively and in the manner that God wills." The writer confesses that "an adequate and justly proportioned moral science, suitable for the conditions under which Anglican priests have to labour, has yet to be developed." The ideal treatise will come as "the sequel of pioneer efforts and numerous imperfect manuals." This work is thus a pioneer effort, and as such should be welcomed without too much criticism of its numerous imperfections. The book is interesting; but it is the work of a scholar who is an amateur in Moral Theology. Thus we are told: "Suicide is self-murder," and a note subjoined adds: "In the Brazilian forest Mr. Roosevelt, sick and injured so that his condition retards the progress of the rest of the party towards safety, determines to shoot himself if his condition does not speedily improve." This is described as an interesting problem in casuistry, and is thus quietly dismissed. The particular case is of interest to the theologian inasmuch as it lays bare the principles underlying the prohibition to kill and distinguishes the obligation arising therefrom from other obligations of lesser moment. As another example, we may refer to paragraphs pp. 208, 209, dealing with the seal of confession. The writer, with Father Slater's volumes before him, as well as the Catholic Encyclopedia and some Anglican authorities, has a good grip of the Catholic doctrine and apparently wishes to teach it, but strays into the following disconcerting sentence: "Personally the priest is ignorant here, and, according to most authorities, may honestly deny knowledge." Further we read: "The obligation also extends to the

penitent, and obviously he ought normally to avoid all reference to the matter (*scl.* sins confessed)." How far we have journeyed from the clear and firm doctrine of Dr. Prümmer! The examples we have chosen are typical, and while we gladly welcome the work as a pioneer effort and recognise the author's study of Catholic sources, which he freely quotes, we must declare that, in spite of a good deal of scholarship and attractive writing, the book, if we except Chapters I. and II., has no scientific and little practical value. G. S. O.

DE PAENITENTIA. Tractatus Dogmatico-historicus. Auctore P. Galtier, S.J. Paris: Beauchesne. 1923. 20 fr.

Father Galtier can claim to have written a book that was well worth writing. His subject is Penance in the double sense of the word: the virtue and the sacrament. On the virtue and on the purely theological aspects of the sacrament he has nothing new to say, but contents himself with a full and clear statement of received theological conclusions. Following the traditional order, he begins with the virtue—its nature and necessity. He then passes to the sacrament, and ends with a third part on the effects of Penance considered as both virtue and sacrament. His special contribution to the subject is to be found in the second part, and principally in those chapters which discuss the historical problems connected with the institution and administration of this sacrament. Here Father Galtier writes as a specialist; but the logical order and completeness of his book reveal a mind that has been as well schooled in theology as in the science of historical criticism.

Two main questions may be taken as summing up the historical difficulties peculiar to this treatise. Has the Church been conscious from the first of its power to bind and loose without further limitation than is involved in the penitent's personal dispositions? And has the Church always made her exercise of this power dependent on the practice of confession? Father Galtier's answer to these two questions depends on a distinction which he rightly regards as fundamental. What do we mean when we speak of "private penance" and "private confession"? Do we mean an administration of the sacrament in which confession, absolution and penance all take place in secret, as they do to-day? Or a means of reconciliation to the Church without the necessity of appearing in public as a canonical penitent? Father Galtier uses the term in the latter sense throughout this book, and justifies it by an appeal to the most ancient evidence.

Granted this definition of the term "private penance," Father Galtier's conclusions may be summed up as follows:—For the canonical or capital offences, of which adultery, homicide and idolatry were the chief, public penance was normally required, and could only be obtained once; this public penance was followed by a public, sacramental absolution. For lesser sins public penance was not usually exacted, at least in those centuries for which we have anything like adequate evidence. But Father Galtier points out that private penance does not necessarily imply private absolution, still less immediate absolution: the penitent might be required to perform his penance in private for a considerable time, meanwhile abstaining from Holy Communion. Those in danger of death, even the *lapsi*, were admitted to immediate absolution without penance; and less urgent motives were sometimes thought sufficient to dispense those guilty of canonical offences from the performance of public penance. In his discussion of the "irremissible" sins Father Galtier follows the lead given by Father d' Alès in his *L'Edit de Calliste*.

Auricular confession has been for years Father Galtier's special field of research, and he here re-states conclusions which he has justified more than once by a detailed analysis of the evidence. Penance, he argues, being imposed by ecclesiastical authority and accepted by the penitent, everywhere implies confession of sin to priest or bishop. That secret sins were confessed is plain from the evidence of the fourth century, and—apart from cases of public scandal or denunciation by a fellow-Christian—private confession was the normal mode of seeking reconciliation from the Church. The difficulties which have been urged against Catholic doctrine on this subject nearly always arise from a confusion between public penance and public confession. Father Galtier's own articles on the evidence of St. Augustine and St. John Chrysostom should be read by all students of the subject. Here he simply summarizes the evidence which he has given more fully in these articles, and in his admirable study of early Church discipline in the *Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi* (s.v. *Pénitence*). It was no easy task to bring order into a mass of highly complicated evidence on a subject which has been obscured by four centuries of controversy. That task Father Galtier has accomplished, and we congratulate him on a book which is likely to remain for long a classic of Catholic theology.

A. G.

Varia

ENQUETE SUR LE NATIONALISME. Par Maurice Vaussard. Paris: Editions Spes. 1924. 12 fr.

This is an effort to produce a book that should be a symposium, wholly impartial, of all Catholic views upon Nationalism. There is naturally considerable divergence of opinion, from the Archbishop of Sarajevo, who says that "Nationalism" will be the next heresy to be condemned by the Church," upward. One can easily understand that Sarajevo is a place where Nationalism tends to be unduly emphatic. Most of the contributors distinguish between good and bad manifestations of nationalism, the former being generally those in harmony with their own political point of view. Some forty variations upon a single theme become tiresome to any but an expert in theory. Many of the contributors draw a distinction between nationalism and patriotism. Patriotism, after all, is but successful nationalism. The destruction of Austria is naturally looked upon as a severe blow to Catholic interests, and many of the details of its dismemberment are shown to be actually anti-national, the creation of an Austrian *irredenta* in the north of the Italian realm, for instance. The point upon which the editor finds most general agreement is the condemnation of the proposition, that the violation of an oath or any other criminal action becomes praiseworthy if done through patriotic motives.

Ireland, the scene of so many national developments in our time, is represented in the symposium by Mr. Shane Leslie alone. The editor states that he had unsuccessfully sought to obtain contributions from Archbishop O'Donnell, Fr. T. Finlay, S.J., Mr. Michael Hayes, and Professor Alfred O'Rahilly, and just failed to get one from Dr. Cohalan, Bishop of Cork. One of the most interesting contributions is from Fr. Martindale, S.J., speaking for England. The representation of Italian opinion—Italy has also been the scene of an extreme nationalist manifestation—is somewhat lopsided. Neither Mons. Bianchi-Cagliesi, Signor Filippo Meda, one of Giolitti's ministry, nor even Don Luigi Sturzo himself is fully qualified to expound the last development of Italian national feeling. Don Sturzo is, however, interesting:—

> Patriotism and nationalism are not to be confused, he says, even in countries where men are fighting for a definite national ideal. There is no difference between the patriotism of the Flemings and Wallons, whose struggle is centred around the University of Ghent, or between that of Sinn Feiners and supporters of the Irish Free State, any more than between that of Bavarians and of Prussians.

His also is the following collection of epigrams :—

> Monarchism makes a god of the King.
> Liberalism makes a god of the individual.
> Democracy makes a god of the people.
> Syndicalism makes a god of class.
> Socialism makes a god of the State.
> Nationalism makes a god of the Nation.

Ireland often crops up in the discussion. The following very limited tribute of the editor himself will scarcely excite the enthusiasm of those to whom it is devoted :—

> It would be very unjust to wholly condemn the role played by the clergy of Ireland, Croatia, Czecho-Slovakia, or even Flanders, who generally unite a depth of apostolic virtue to frequent intemperateness of action in the cause of national emancipation.

For the rest, the contributors vary from French theologians, rather dull in manner, to Poles with names difficult to pronounce.

A. E. C.

THE REFORMATORY SYSTEM. By the Rev. Louis Foley, O.M.I., M.A., D.PH., S.T.L., of Glencree. Dublin : Browne and Nolan. 1923. Pp. 87, 1s. 0d.

DR. FOLEY'S pamphlet is based on his long experience in the management of a Reformatory School of excellent repute, which has rendered great national and personal services in Ireland. He draws in a subordinate way on the experience of other countries, though less from Continental nations than from England. Over the whole of this excellent explanation of a controverted issue there is shed the light derived from a happy combination of humanity, of the plain facts of slum life, and of the inspiration which only Catholic educators can derive from the traditions of God's Church and God's sacramental order. It is a pleasure to see that those persons who even in ripe old age are still beset by judicial blinkers, are candidly yet courteously dealt with on pages 55, 56, 70, 71. It is to be hoped that younger men, in positions of power and influence, will learn wisdom in their ways from this unanswerable answer.

T. C.

THE CATHOLIC REACTION IN FRANCE. By Denis Gwynn. New York and London. Macmillan. 1924. 7*s.* 6*d.*, net.

IT is singularly difficult to arrive at any accurate judgment of the religious situation in France at the present time. Hopes that were raised high during the war have been largely shattered since, and recent events, inspired by a recrudescence of that truculent anti-clerical spirit which the war was held to have annihilated, do not

tend to improve the outlook. On the many questions at issue Mr. Gwynn has a great deal to say that is informative and to the point. He demonstrates the immense efforts that Catholics are making in the press, in the support of their schools, in the recruiting of the clergy and in the organisation of the youth of both sexes, and though he does not gloss over disconcerting circumstances his outlook is throughout optimistic—perhaps more optimistic than the facts quite warrant. That there should be somewhat obvious omissions in a book of a journalistic type is perhaps inevitable. Still, among the Catholic formative influences of the moment some mention should surely have been made of the Dominican Order and its hold on the "young intellectuals." Again, in the long and carefully studied chapter on the depopulation menace it is surprising to find no reference to the wage-paying system known as *Allocations familiales*, the only well-thought-out economic plan for encouraging larger families, one that owes its origin to Catholic sociologists and that has spread with gratifying rapidity through France. One small blunder should be corrected in a future edition. Psichari (p. 42) should surely be described, not as a poet, but as a soldier and novelist. V. M. C.

Books also received:

ARENDZEN, J. P. ... What Becomes of the Dead? (Sands, 6/-).
BAGENAL, PHILIP H. ... Vicissitudes of an Anglo-Irish Family. (Clement Ingleby, 21/-).
BELL, H. I. AND C. C. ... Welsh Poems in English Verse. (Wrexham: Hughes, 5/-).
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BLUNDELL, MRS. (M. E. FRANCIS). Golden Sally. (Sands, 6/-).
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STURT, MARY ... The Psychology of Time. (Kegan Paul, 7/6).

TOOHEY, JOHN J. ... An Elementary Handbook of Logic. (Schwartz, Kirwin and Fauss, $1.50).

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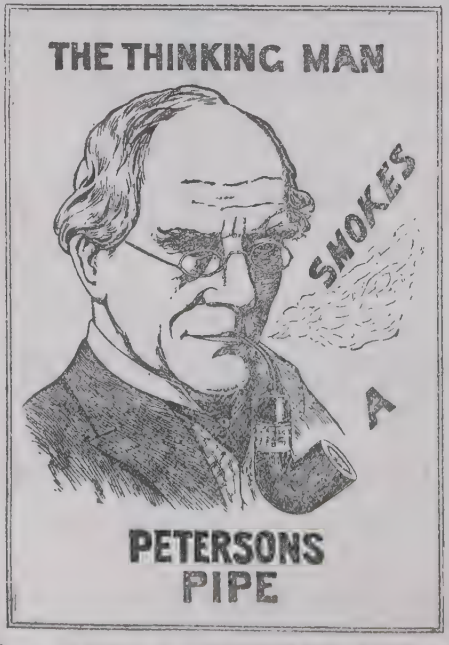

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